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Part I

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COPPER BENT-BAR COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA*

DOLLY MUKHERJEE

(Pls. I & II)

An important hoard of 569 coins was unearthed in course of excavations at Kauśāmbī during the year 1937-38¹ at the Maurya level near the Aśokan pillar in Block I of site No. 1; and these are preserved in the coin cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. But this hoard of coins has never been published in detail.

The hoard consists of 93 silver, 239 copper and 236 bronze coins. Of these 239 copper pieces there are 109 coins which belong to the Bent-bar category. The importance of the Bent-bar coins induces the present author to publish them in detail.

Bent-bar coins as such are extremely rare and so far have been discovered from the North Western parts of India and Northern Afghanistan such as Taxila,² Charsadda, Rawalpindi, Bajaur,³ Mirzakah and Chaman-i-Hazuri⁴ etc. These are mainly silver and only three pieces of copper-bent bar coins and their lower denominations are known to us which have

* Photographs obtained through the courtesy of the Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1. The report of this excavation has never been published by the Department of Archaeology in India. Only a brief account of this hoard has been given by C. C. Dasgupta in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (JNSI)*, 1950, Vol. XII, Pt. I, page 74. The hoard consists of 93 ordinary silver punch-marked coins, 239 copper punch-marked (out of 239 coins, 109 are Bent-bar coins, 36 pieces of these are silver coated copper coins) others are cast and die-struck coins. But majority of the Kosam coins (copper and bronze) are indistinct and broken pieces.
2. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (MASI)*, No. 59, p. 2, Pl. IV.
3. *Ancient India (AI)*, No. I, p. 28; *JNSI*, Vol. IV, 1942, p. 61.
4. R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors Monétaires D' Afghanistan (TMA) Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, Vol. XIV, Paris-1953, p. 73 for 50 pieces from Mirzakah and p. 37 for 14 pieces from Chaman-i-Hazuri Pl. III, 1-12.

also come from Taxila.¹ The evidence of provenances of these finds may naturally tempt us to conclude that bent-bar coins, copper or silver, originated in the north-western parts of India. Under the circumstances, bar type coins numbering as many as 109 discovered from a far eastern region like Kauśāmbī is of great significance.

Now, the coins under discussion are thickish and bent copper bars with symbols² impressed twice on the concave obverse side, the convex reverse being blank. The symbols are all of the wheel like design and each coin bears two symbols at the two ends of the obverse flan. However, as we see, the symbols on the coins are very seldom properly impressed; and sometimes one symbol is stamped on the other. The symbols are partly impressed on the flans probably because the punch-dies used for the purpose of stamping the symbols on the flans were bigger than the latter. Besides, corroded and poor condition of these coins have rendered the symbols badly defaced and illegible. But a comparative study of the symbols on well preserved specimen helps us in making out their original and intended form. A few specimens among them have counter marks (Pl. II. No. 32, 41, 52, etc.) on the obverse, but only one single piece bears a crescent like countermark (Pl. I. No. 22) on the reverse. All these countermarks are similar to those of the silver pieces coming from Taxila. Though these coins have a very crude appearance, they are closely akin to the British Museum coin Nos. 1 and 3.³

Majority of these pieces are elongated, and the rest squarish and irregular in shape. Some of them have one end rounded and other end flat. The reason for this irregular shape of the shorter coins is mainly due to arbitrary clipping of their ends in order to maintain the required weight. The squarish coins with broad flans are generally thinner than the narrow and elongated ones. A good number of these coins are cracked either at the back or at sides. This may be due to fact that the core metal

-
1. *AI*, No. I, p. 31, and, also Appendix III. But strangely enough that excepting Mr. Young no scholar has noted about the lower denominations of these copper bent-bar coins.
 2. Cf. *AI*, No. 59, Pl. III, No. ii, iii, iv, xi, xiv, etc.
 3. J. Allan, *BMCAI*, p. 1 Pl. I No. 1, 3.

is an alloy of some base metals and was carelessly stamped without being properly heated or annealed. It may, however, be noted that the coins under study are somewhat different in fabric as well as in appearance from the short and broad silver pieces coming from Mirzakah and Chaman-i-Hazuri in Afganisthan¹ and the long and narrow pieces from the Taxila region.² The silver pieces from Chaman-i-Hazuri seem to be earlier in date as they are found associated with the early coins of Greece, datable to the 6th and 5th century B. C. and of the Achemenid empire, assignable to late 5th or at least 4th century B. C.³ The date of 33 elongated narrow pieces from Bhir mound (Taxila) is approximately fixed by the contents of the hoard. In addition to the silver bent-bar, usual punch-marked and minute pieces, the hoard concerned has also brought to light a well worn Persian siglos, two coins of Alexander and one piece of Philip Aridaeus. Since the coins of Alexander and Philip have been found in mint condition, the hoard concerned might have been buried not long, if at all, after the death of Philip in 317 B. C. Hence the bar coins, found in this hoard, might have been in circulation long before 317 B. C.⁴ Interestingly enough, the hoard concerned has been recovered from stratum III at Bhir mound, dated c. 4th century B. C.⁵ On the other hand, the copper pieces under discussion have come from Maurya level⁶ at Kauśāmbī.

So far as the weight and measurement are concerned, the length of these coins varies from 22 mm. to 30 mm., while their width ranges between 10 mm. and 16 mm., the thickness varies from 4 mm. to 6 mm., but

1. *TMA*, p. 37, see composition of Chaman-i-Hazuri hoard.
2. See *MASI* No. 59, p. 2 for composition of 1924 hoard and *AI* No. I, pp. 27-31; both the hoards were found in the same level in stratum III, c. 4th century B. C. According to some scholars date can only be determined correctly from its archaeological context i. e. from stratigraphic evidence and not merely from its composition. See A. H. Dani, *JNSI*, Vol. XVII, part II, pages 27-32 and S. C. Ray, *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, part II, pages 12.-26. But in the absence of correct stratigraphic evidence or any other convincing clue we have no other alternative but to depend on the composition which has at least some significance.
3. *TMA*, p. 37, Pl. III.
4. The bar-coins and other Indian issues are also comparatively worn. See S. C. Ray, *Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins in Indian Excavations and Some Allied Issues*, p. 5-6. See also. J. Allan, *Op. Cit.*, p. xvi.
5. *Taxila*, Vol. I, p. 105.
6. C. C. Das Gupta; *JNSI*, 1950, Vol. XII, Pt. I, p. 74.

the weight of these coins varies widely indicating some five broad groups :-

1.	130—140 grs. (8.42— 9.07 gms.)		4 coins.
2.	141—150 „ (9.14— 9.72 „)		11 „
3.	151—160 „ (9.79—10.37 „)		49 „
4.	161—170 „ (10.43—11.02 „)	...	33 „
5.	171—180 „ (11.08—11.66 „)	...	9 „
Total :			106 Coins

There are three coins which cannot be included in the above five groups because of their very irregular weights. They weigh 113.2 grs. (7.39 gms.), 121.2 grs. (9.84 gms.) and 183.2 grs. (11.87 gms.). One of the most important points regarding the present hoard of coins to be noted here is that out of 109 pieces 36 coins bear evident traces of silver coating; and the rest, though not showing the clear sign of it, appear to have been originally coated with silver. On closer examination it seems that the original copper bars were either silver coated or silver dipped and finally stamped by means of separate punches with symbols of bigger dimensions. The weight of these 36 silver coated coins may therefore be further noted in detail in the following manner :—

1.	150—160 grs.		23 coins.
2.	161—170 „		12 „
3.	and 113.2 „		1 „
Total :			36 coins.

Though apparently these coins show a very puzzling wide range of weight, a careful examination of the above tables of weight indicate that out of 109 coins, 95 pieces (with or without silver coating) weigh between 150 and 183 grs., which more or less agree with the recorded weight of the known silver bent-bar coins,¹ and 14 pieces only show very low and irregular weight. Of these 14 pieces, one coin weighing 113.2 grs., bears silver coating while the rest, i. e. 13 pieces do not bear the same coating and these are highly corroded. The coin weighing 113.2 grs. is also very thin piece. It seems, that neither the copper blanks nor the outer coating were

1. Three specimens in V. A. Smith, *IMC*, I, p. 136; Six coins in B. B. Bidyabinod, *IMC Suppl.*, Vol. I, p. 8. Coins found at Bajaur; *JNSI*, Vol. IV, 1942, p. 61, hoard found at Bhir mound (Taxila) in 1924, *MASI*, No. 59, p. 100; hoard found at Bhir mound (Taxila) in 1945, *AI*, No. I, p. 33. Appendix-I.

originally uniform, and, due to wear and tear of the outer coating they have not only lost much of their weight but on a good number of coins the symbols have become very faint. In fact, ancient coins, silver or copper, very seldom conform the correct theoretical weight enumerated in the ancient Indian literature. They always weigh less¹ than their theoretical weight. This may have been due to various factors. Firstly, the medium of weight i. e. *Raktikā* or *Kṛishṇala* seeds were not of uniform size and weight. Because weight of 1 *rattī* varies from 1.75 to 1.83 grs.,² and weight of 100 *rattī* is therefore equal to 175 grs. to 183. Secondly, the alleged practice of adjusting weight by arbitrary clipping of sides of coins could have very often deducted from them more than the intended amount. The copper pieces are generally of very irregular weight. So it is very difficult to ascertain their denominations. In this connection mention may be made of Madhipur hoard of copper punch-marked coins preserved in the British Museum.³ Three copper bent-bar coins and their lower denominations obtained from Taxila also record very irregular weight,⁴ and these coins are closely akin to the specimens preserved in the British Museum,⁵ as the present coins are. Consequently it seems that the irregular weight of these coins from Kausāmbī is not a very unusual phenomenon for the coins of such an ancient period. There is a good deal of controversy among the scholars regarding the origin of the weight standard

1. Recognised theoretical weight of silver punch-marked (*Kārshāpaṇa*) is 32 *rattī* or 58.56 grains. But this theoretical weight is scarcely even attained in the known specimen. After examination of a large number of these coins from South India the average weight was obtained by Elliot 47.10, by Edward Thomas 47.9 grains. Cunningham had examined 2000 coins, only 20 gave an average of 55 grains of which 10 average 55.6 and one reached 56.5 grains (*CAI*, p. 44). Walsh also examined the weight of over 2000 of these coins but very seldom exceed 54 grains even there are in mint conditions (*MASI*, No 59, pp. 15-16).
2. According to Smith 1 *rattī* is equal to 1.75 grains (*IMC*, Vol. I, pp. 134-36). Walsh is of opinion that 1 *rattī* is equal to 1.80 grains (*MASI*, No. 69, p. 3). According to Cunningham, 1.75 to 1.83 grains (*CAI*, p. 44).
3. J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 101-16, Pl. XII-XIII. Fifty four coins of this type are preserved in the Indian Museum Coin Cabinets.
4. Three copper bent-bar coins and their lower denominations show very irregular weight. Cf. *AI*, No. 1, Appendix VII.
5. J. Allan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-2, Pl. I, No. 1, 3.

of these bent-bar coins. Allan thinks that they conformed to the Persian standard.¹ According to him, full sized coins representing double siglos or stater of 172 grs. and one fourth and one eighth pieces representing half and quarter siglos of 43 and 21½ grs. respectively. E.C.H. Walsh is inclined to regard them as "indigenous Indian coins of Indian standard" of 100 rattis or 180 grains.² But careful examination of characteristics of the hitherto known bent-bar coins (silver or copper) it is clearly understood that bent-bar coins are of indigenous origin and had no connection with the Persian siglos from which it differs in many fundamental respects, such as their shape, devices, mode of fabrication and even weight. It may be mentioned in this connection that a single piece of silver bar coin in the hoard found at Taxila³ in 1924 weighs 179.4 grs. Another specimens from Chaman-i-Hazuri hoard weighs 182.9 grs.,⁴ and one piece in the present hoard under discussion shows maximum weight as 183.2 grs. This comparison indicates that the bent-bar coins were originally heavier than those of Persian double siglos and fairly agrees with the theoretical weight prescribed by the early numismatists.⁵

The genuineness of the silver coated coins has been questioned by a scholar.⁶ He has suggested that silver plated or silver coated pieces are ancient forgeries and that these were originally copper coins and subsequently plated or coated with silver by the private moneyers or counterfeiters for getting them circulated as silver pieces. He has supplemented his argument with the alleged evidence of the *Arthaśāstra*.⁷ On the other

1. J. Allan, *Ibid.*, pp. 1-12.

2. Walsh, *MA SI*, No. 59, p. 3.

3. Walsh, *MA SI*, No. 59, p. 3.

4. *TMA*, p. 37.

5. The opinion propounded by Banerjea that the bent-bar coins were originally heavier than the Persian double siglos is further strengthened by the reference of these two coins weighing 182.9 and 183.3 grs; one in the Chaman-i-Hazuri hoard and another in the present hoard found at Kauśāmbi respectively. Cf J. N. Banerjea, *Comprehensive History of India*, II pp. 778-79

6. Sarjug Prasad Singh, *Indian Museum Bulletin (IMB)*—Vol. V, No. 2-July 1970, pp. 53.

7. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*, tr. R. Shamasastri, pp. 86ff. The *Arthaśāstra*, however, mentions the counterfeiters (*Arthaśāstra*, IV, 4) and their atelier and the system of checking in the royal treasury at the time of receiving money. But there is no clear mention of the characteristic of counterfeit coins in the *Arthaśāstra*. But, Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* refers to the different methods of debasing the currency.

hand, discovery of a good number of silver coated copper coins from several archaeological sites¹ of India tempt us to think that the technique of manufacturing silver coated copper coins was quite known to the ancient Indians, since this practice is so old in this country there is no reason to think that all the silver coated or plated coins are fake. It rather indicates a somewhat advanced and stable monetary system of a particular period.

Lastly, it has already been mentioned that the bent bar coins, silver or copper originated in the North Western parts of India. Under the circumstances the discovery of 109 copper bent bar coins from a far eastern region like Kauśāmbī raises an important question regarding their origin. We have to decide whether these were local issues of Kauśāmbī or they were imported there from Taxila by way of trade or other means.

It is well known that Kauśāmbī, situated on a point of converging trade routes,² was one of the most important and prosperous cities of ancient India, even during the time of the Buddha. The practice of minting varied types of coins at Kauśāmbī is of high antiquity. It therefore, is not very unlikely that these copper bar coins were struck at Kauśāmbī in order to maintain trade relation with N. W. India where the silver bent-bars were in circulation. But still in the present state of our knowledge it will be very hazardous to state that these are local issues of Kauśāmbī on the basis of this single hoard of coins at our disposal. In view of all the facts mentioned above and taking everything into consideration, it appears that these debased coins were struck at Taxila. The date of their circulation may be assigned to the Maurya age, as indicated by the discovery of the hoard concerned at the Maurya level at Kauśāmbī.

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1. Nalanda, *JASB*, Vol. XXX, NS. XLV, Pl. XI, No. 26A; Kumrahar, *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 16ff; Taxila, *MAI*, No. 59, p. 3ff. *JNSI*, Vol. XXXV, 1973, p. 36; Kauśāmbī, *JNSI*, 1950, Vol. XII, p. 81; Ujjain, Bhilsa, *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 168f; *Devenimori : Excavation at Devnimori-1960-63* and *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 22.
 2. N. N. Ghosh, *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, p. 6-8; A. N. Bose, *Social & Rural Economy of Northern India*, p. 206, 197; Rhys Davis, *Buddhist India*, p. 44.

TWO DOUBLE-OBVERSE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

HALDHAR PATHAK

(Pl. III)

A number of silver punch-marked coins are found with the obverse group of marks stamped on both of their faces. On them, the group of the marks on one face is older and more worn than that on the other. They show that these coins were originally issued with that set of obverse marks, which now appear worn; and then after some time, they were re-struck with the other set of obverse marks. Thus, these coins were re-issued by the authorities having the later set of obverse marks.

Such re-struck or double-obverse coins were first noticed by E.H.C. Walsh. He found on the coins of Paila hoard, which belong to the local series of the punch-marked coins¹ and also on the coins of the Big Bhir mound hoard of the Imperial series of the Punch-marked coins.² Amongst the Bhir mound coins, there were 64 such coins; but on most of them the older obverse symbol-group was either so much jumbled with the minute shroff-marks or had become flat due to re-punching on the other side or had already become very much worn, while they were re-punched, that Walsh could hardly recognise one or two symbols of the older side and Gupta some how managed to trace out the older reverse group on 25 of them.³ There after Gupta found two double-obverse coins in the Raichur hoard and 96 in the Amaravati hoard.⁴ The Amaravati hoard coins also have the older reverse very much similar to the coins of Bhir mound hoard; so he could identify the older reverse on only 58 coins; but not in all cases all the five symbols.⁵ Other hoards might be having such coins; but they have not yet been brought to proper light.

The importance of the double-obversed punch-marked coins in the studies of these coins lies in the fact that they give a chronology to the

1. *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 15 ff.

2. *Punch-marked coins from Taxila* (No. 59), p. 10-12, 37-39.

3. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 845-46; 149-50.

4. *Punch-marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*.

5. *Amaravati hoard of Silver punch-marked coins*, pp. 112-116.

coins of various symbol-groups. The symbol-groups found on the older side of the coins are earlier than the symbol-groups found on the coins struck later. Gupta has drawn attention to this fact and its importance¹ but I am not aware if any work on the chronology on the basis of the double-obversed coins have been taken up by any scholar. At least nothing is published so far.

I feel that primary need for any such study is the publication of the double-obversed puch-marked coins, as many as possible. In compliance to this need, I take this occassion to put on record two such coins that belong to Prof. K. B. Tiwari of Hoshangabad (M. P.); he has obtained them from a dealer at Varanasi. The actual find place is not known; but it may be reasonably believed that they might have originated in the vicinity of Varanasi.

1. Oval; 2.5 cm × 2 cm; weight 48.29 grains. (Pl. III. 1)

New Obverse : (1) Sun (almost fully punched); (2) *Shadarchakra* (only two arms-aurine, and arrow are clearly visible)²; (3) A standard or perch-like object with four trident like objects at the top arranged in a row and four round knobbed object below with a beaded handle in the centre (Amaravati Symbol 84) (almost complete); (4) In a square enclosure, a horizon-

1. *Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 10-11.

2. The restoration of the complete symbol with the help of other coins, of the known variety, has been a normal practice with the scholars and it was presumed that coins having the common five symbols would have the same variety of the six-armed symbol. The coin in the Bhir mound hoard (No. 890), having the five symbols of this group, has a *shadarchakra* of which three arms are available on the coin and they are : (i) fish; (ii) arrow and (iii) oval with dot (not very clear). The Bhir mound coin and the present coin, together would restore five arms (anti-clockwise) (i) arrow; (ii) taurine; (iii) fish; (iv) arrow and (v) oval with dot. Sixth arm unknown. But the coin of the Rairh hoard of this very variety, the arms of which as almost all the six arms show the symbol as (anti-clockwise) (i) arrow; (ii) taurine; (iii) oval with dot; (iv) arrow; (v) fish and (vi) oval with dot. And this is an altogether different form. If the identifications are correct it means to show that the coins having the same five symbols, may not necessarily be the six-armed symbols having the same six arms arranged in the same order. This has necessitated that the six-armed symbol (*shadarchakra*) on each and every coin should be carefully examined before attributing any form to any particular symbol-group. P. L. G.)

tal line with four vertical lines arranged in a row; below the horizontal line a long vertical line with curved handle; taurine on either side of the handle (Amaravati symbol 157); (5) A circle with a dot flanked by two taurines (right taurine not clear) (Amaravati symbol 227). This symbol-group is known on a coin in Bhir mound (Coin 890) and also on a coin in Rairh hoard V (Pl. XXV. 10). Besides the symbol group, there are two small marks (i) circle with a dot (in the centre); (ii) three crescents arranged back-to-back in a circle to the left of the symbol 2 (*shadārachakra*).

Old obverse. (1) Sun; (2) Six-armed symbol showing two arrows opposite each other and two ovals each in between them (almost complete and clear); (3) In a rectangular pond, lotus bud flanked with two leaves on its two shores; in centre a pair of fish (Amaravati symbol 80); (4) A tree with three sets of open oval leaves and taurine the two branches of the leaves (most of the parts visible) (Amaravati symbol 154); (5) A two-pronged insect, long and bold (Amaravati symbol 214). Two coins bearing this symbol group are known in Amaravati hoard (Var. II. XII.1). Like the present coins they are older obverse of coins 194 and 218.

The combination of the two symbol groups is not known either in Bhir or in Amravati hoard. As such, it is so for a unrecorded combination. This gives importance to the coin.

2. Round (approx.); 2.1 cm × 2cm; weight 45.26 grains (Pl. III. 2)

New Obverse : (1) Sun with a dot in centre; (2) *Shadārachakra* (four arms on the flan-arrow) (cut by hill symbol), to its left dumb-bell then fish and to the right of the arrow, a taurine;¹ (3) six-arched hill, upper three

1. The present symbol shows four arms (i) taurine, which is more like a fish facing inward; (ii) arrow; (iii) dumb-bell and (iv) fish facing inward. It may well be presumed that the fifth symbol would be an arrow. The Amaravati coin of this type shows five arms as : (i) taurine; (ii) arrow; (iii) fish facing outward; (iv) taurine and (v) arrow. And this does not correspond with the arrangement on the present coin. Of the two coins in the Bhir mound hoard, coin no. 892 shows three arms (i) fish facing outward; (ii) taurine and arrow and thus it suggests the symbol similar to Amaravati. But its coin no. 7704 shows three arms as (i) arrow; (ii) dumb-bell and (iii) the fish facing outward. This corresponds with the arms ii; iii and iv of the present coin with the difference that the fish is facing here outward. Thus the form of the six-armed symbol *shadārachakra* on the group of the coins does not seem to be one and the same. A careful investigation in this case is also necessary. P. L. G.)

arches clear; (4) An animal with two prongs at the back and a pointed mouth shown by three dots (Amaravati symbol 177); (5) an elephant to right. The symbol group is the same as Amaravati IV. V. D. 2 where it is a new obverse, like the present coin; the present coin; the older obverse of that coin, is undecipherable. It is also known in Bhir-mound (coins 892 and 1104). Its coin 1104 is double-obversed; and on it this symbol-group appears as the later one. The older symbol group on it are undecipherable.

Besides the symbol group, this side also bears three or four small countermarks; but only one of them is some what identifiable and it appears to be a small form of sun symbol.

Old reverse. This side bears the symbols of the group jumbled up with the later counter-marks and it is not easy to distinguish them. However sun (partly visible) and *shadarchakra* (showing arrow and a oval with dot) may be easily located. The fifth symbol, elephant also is identifiable; but its head is struck with another mark and as such, it gives the deception of a bull. Of the remaining two symbols, one may be located between the elephant and the sun; but no idea of the symbol could be made. The other symbol is to the left of the *shadarchakra* and it is equally unidentifiable.

In absence of the proper identification all the five symbols of the group, nothing may be said about combination of the two groups. The value of the coin, however, lies in the fact that while nothing is identifiable on the coins of Bhir and Amaravati hoards, at least three symbols are identifiable here. When and if a corpus of symbol groups is available, it would be possible to locate the other two symbols of the symbol-group and then the unidentified symbols would be identified and the symbol-group ascertained.¹

1. I am thankful to Prof. K. B. Tiwari for permitting me to publish his coins and to Dr. P. L. Gupta for his valuable advice in preparing this paper and the identification of the symbols.

A NEW SEAL WITH BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT AND PUNCH MARK SYMBOLS

G. C. CHAULEY

There is a great deal of controversy regarding the data and authorship of the punch marked coins. An approximate date has been ascertained on the basis of their association with other objects and on stratigraphic grounds. The antiquity of the punch-marked coins goes back as early as to the 4th century B. C. (333 B. C.).¹ This conclusion has been tentatively arrived on the basis of the observation of Quintus Curtius "that Omphis (Ambhi) presented" Signati argenti LXXX-80 talents of stamped silver to Alexander at Taxila. Allan holds the view that the Nandas were the first rulers to introduce currency in the country. Both these facts have been verified by archaeological excavation at Bhir Mound in Taxila which brought to light both bent-bar and silver punch marked coins from the pre-Mauryan level. The wide distribution of the punch marked coins and the uniformity in their features suggest that the same currency was largely introduced in different parts of the Mauryan Empire, when India was unified by the imperial Mauryas.

Many signs and symbols have been found on both the obverse and reverse sides of the punch-marked coins, but no legend has so far been found on them. In this paper I am presenting a rare seal recently collected from Rajgir where a unique combination of early Brāhmī script and a tree within railing, the latter an oft repeated symbol on the punch-marked coins has been noted. This unique seal is in the possession of Dr. S. S. Sinha of Bihar Sharif.

This particular seal is made of glass and is round in shape with a diameter of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cm. and $\frac{1}{4}$ cm. thick. It is light green in colour and has five Brahmi letters written clockwise. A tree within a railing is shown in the middle. The letters are very bold and distinct and read *ma* (४) *na* (⊥) *di* () *na* (⊥) *śa* (Λ) *Manadinaśa*. Manadinasa may possibly be the name of an important personage. To the right of tree within railing symbol is

1, [However, it does not seem conclusive. For contra views see *Chronology of Punch-marked Coins* (Ed. A. K. Narain, & L. Gopal); U. Thakar, *Mints And Minting in India*, chapter II, etc. OPS].

shown an upright ladder, quite an unknown symbol not met with on punch-marked coins; but here also this new symbol is of uncertain relation with Tree. The reverse is plain and smooth.

In normal cases on the P. M. coins the tree is represented either with three or more branches with leaves but on this seal there is no such evidence. In this particular symbol the absence of branches and leaves and the uprightness of the shaft has to be viewed differently. It was possibly not a tree but a *Yūpa* which was associated with the form of cult worship prevalent during the pre-Aśokan period. The researches of John Irwin have pointed out the tradition of pillar worship in both non-Buddhist and Buddhist contexts. It is interesting to note that in Indian epic literature such pillars are called *Chaityayūpa*, literally meaning *Yūpas* attached to *Chaityas* or sacred spot.¹ The railing on the coins clearly refers to a *vedikā*, the characteristic and most essential feature of early Indian shrines. John Irwin asserts that pillars commonly called Aśokan (Mauryan) do not mark the beginning of monumental art in India but are the culmination of a much older tradition of pillar architecture. Equally important is the discovery of pre-Mauryan *Yūpa* encased within the core of the Aśokan *Stūpa* at Piprahwa and Lauriya.

The palatal *Śa*, which is represented in our seal, is very sporadically available in the Aśokan inscriptions at Maski, Sidhapur, Jatinga Rameshwar and Kalsi. The fact that the palatal *Śa* on our seal, particularly of this variety (▲), is not available from any other place, except Kalsi, which is far away from Magadha, clearly shows that this type of *Śa* was in vogue only in the northern and north-western regions of the Mauryan empire.

This excellent glass work demonstrates that it came from an area where glass industry was well founded. Taxila, which had a wide reputation for its glass industry in the 5th and early 4th century B. C., has yielded maximum number of glass beads, seals, etc. from the excavations at Bhir mound. According to Sir John Marshall glass seems to have been used in the Mauryan period chiefly, if not exclusively, for the manufacture of bangles, beads and seals. Hence there is a strong possibility that this

1. Irwin, John.—The Asokan Pillar : a Re-assessment of the Evidence *Burlington Magazine*, 73.

particular seal might have been brought to the heart of Magadha from the north-western region, possibly from Taxila, or any other Janapada of that region, by trade or other contact.

The uniform character of Brāhmī letters found in Aśokan script was possibly because of the employment of skilled engravers by the Mauryan court to execute the engraving work. That the same uniform character of the letters are found on this seal shows that the standard form of the letters was not confined to the court artists alone.

While the history of the script before Aśoka is still shrouded in mystery, it should be misleading to assert that the script was standardised by the time of Aśoka. Standardisation of script is not confined to any limited time. Script is always in a flux and goes on changing and rearranging itself to the necessities of the times. An inscription of 16th century written in the Nāgarī script contains letters almost similar to those of modern times. Hence it is not safe to accept the view that the script used in the inscriptions of Aśoka is not what it was 200 years before him. It could not have been much different 100 years prior or posterior to his times.

If the *yūpa* is pre-Aśokan as the researches of John Irwin has shown the form of the letters Manadinaśa on the seal associated with it necessitates the view that it was also pre-Aśokan, if not far removed from him.

Here it may be noted that the problem of pre-Aśokan Brāhmī can be studied afresh with the help of new evidences, that are being constantly unearthed by new excavations and explorations. The present seal may serve as a clue to this intriguing problem.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM VELLANŪR

N. SANKARANARAYANA

(Pls. III, IV, V)

Three hundred and forty six punch-marked coins were received as treasure trove from Vellanur village, Kolathur taluk, Tiruchirapalli district of Tamil Nadu in the year 1970 for examination. On a close examination of the coins, they were found to be worth acquiring for the Museum and accordingly they were acquired.

The coins of the hoard are of impure silver, of varying shape, some rectangular, some square, some round and some elliptical. Among the coins which are of round shape, a great many coins are thick. Among the rectangular and square-shaped coins, majority were thin, compared to the thick round coins. In some of the coins one edge of the coin is bent. These differences in the shape of coins suggest that the hoard consists of coins manufactured by two distinctly different methods. It looks that the rectangular coins were prepared by the cut sheet process¹. In this process, as suggested by P. L. Gupta, the metal must have been beaten into flat sheets of desired thickness, then the sheets would have been cut into stripes and finally blanks of approximately desired weight would have been cut. The other type of coins, namely circular or elliptical, would have been fabricated from globules, made out of molten metal².

The next important aspect of these punch-marked coins are the symbols on them. In a number of coins of this hoard the symbols are not clear. The symbols which are seen clearly on some of the coins of this hoard are Sun symbol, bull symbol, three ovals arranged in a line, fish in tank. In my opinion, the most interesting symbol on one of the coins in this hoard is the figure of three human beings. The coin with the symbol of three human beings are somewhat similar in type to the symbol

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1. Parameshwari Lal Gupta, *The Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-Marked Coins*, The Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series No. 6. (Hyderabad, 1963).
 2. *Ibid.*

illustrated in Allan's *Catalogue*¹ and the symbol illustrated by P. L. Gupta.²

Another symbol which is interesting in this hoard of punch-marked coins is that of an animal which has a long neck.

Still another symbol which I find interesting in this hoard of punch-marked coins is that of a humped bull. There is also another symbol which is some what similar to symbol No. 215 of Plate II of P. L. Gupta's work. Unfortunately the top portion of the symbol is not clear.

Two fish inside a tank is a symbol which deserves mention. This type of symbol is also illustrated in P. L. Gupta's work³ and also in Allan's *Catalogue*.⁴

Other symbols which are met with on the coins of this hoard are three ovals arranged in a line illustrated in P. L. Gupta's aforementioned monograph on the Amaravati coins⁵ and the Sun symbol. Though the hoard consisted of 346 coins majority of the coins are badly worn out. Even among the coins where symbols are to be seen, the symbols are not fully impressed or not clearly distinguishable. The number of symbols range from two to four. It is also significant to note that there are different types of Sun symbols, the difference being in the rays.

The study of the weights of punch-marked coins makes a very interesting study. In this hoard the minimum weight of a coin is 1.35 gms. and the maximum weight of a coin is 3.38. gms. The weights of a number of coins range between 2.5 gms. and 2.6 gms. It is worthwhile comparing the weights of punch-marked coins from this hoard with those from other important hoards in Tamil Nadu. Bodinayakanur hoard of punch-marked coins is one of the big hoards of punch-marked coins in South India. The Madras Museum has 1138 coins from this hoard. The weight of coins from this hoard is less than two gms. except one coin (coin No. 238) which weighs 2.965 gms.

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1. *BMCAI*, London 1936, 302, Symbol No. 8 from the top left.
 2. *Op. cit.*, Pl. IV, symbol no. 281
 3. *Op. cit.*, Plate II, Symbol No. 216
 4. *Op. cit.*, p. 229, Symbol No. 18 top left.
 5. *Op. cit.*, Pl. III, Symbol No. 238.

The coin with minimum weight in this hoard is 0.805 gms. The weight of the majority of the coins range between 1.3 to 1.7 gms. In contrast to this hoard the weight of all the punch-marked coins from another hoard from Vembavur is more than 2.3 gms. The weight of most of the coins in this hoard is around 2.6 gms. The Madras Museum has 166 coins from Vembavur hoard. Mambalam hoard consisting of 807 coins is also an important hoard of punch-marked coins, which the Madras Government Museum has in its collection. The minimum weight of a coin in this hoard is 0.51 gms. and the maximum weight of a coin is 3.35 gms. The weight of most of the coins range between 2.4 grams. to 2.9 gms. It may be interesting to note here that the weight of punch-marked coins numbering seventy one from Singavaram village in Krishna district is less than 2 gms. as in the case of coins from Bodinayakanur hoard. The weight of a large number of coins belonging to the Vellanur hoard and the coins of Vembavur hoard are very close and also it is significant to note that both the hoards are from Tiruchirapalli district of Tamil Nadu.

On a number of coins the symbols are not clearly seen and so only a few coins with recognisable symbols have been selected for the study. From the state of preservation of these coins it appears that the coins were in circulation for a long period. A closer and more detailed examination of these coins can throw much more light.

SIVA ON SOME KUSHĀṆA COINS OF THE INDIAN MUSEUM CABINET

KRISHNA BISWAS

(Pl. VI)

Recently on examining the coins of the imperial Kushāṇa rulers bearing the figure of Śiva belonging to the cabinet of the Indian Museum, I have noted that Smith is not always accurate or complete in his description of the iconographic features of the great God. I am putting below the results of my study of these coins.

Four gold coins¹ of Kadphises II depict the two-armed Śiva standing with head to left. The hair of the God is arranged in a spiral top-knot. He is grasping a combined trident-and-battle-axe in the right hand and a skin (of a tiger ?) is hanging over the left arm. The object held by the left hand has not been noted by Smith; it is a water-vessel of the type which is found on similar specie of this King (Pl. VI. 1).

Śiva appears on a gold coin of Kanishka². The four-armed deity bears a halo behind the head and a top-knot on the head. He holds a *vajra* in the upper right hand, a water-vessel with mouth downward in the lower right hand. The lower left hand is on the hip. Smith finds the upper left hand empty. This is not correct. A close examination of this piece has revealed that the upper left hand is holding a trident. An antelope is seen in the frisking attitude below the lower left hand of the God. The horn of the antelope is touched by the lower left hand of the deity which is not represented in Smith's *Catalogue*. The deity is decked with bangles, armlets and necklaces. He is clad in *dhotī* (Pl. VI. 2).

The reverse of a copper coin of Kanishka, according to Smith, bears the standing figure of Śiva; the God has four hands, holding thunderbolt in the upper right hand, a noose in the lower right hand, and trident in the upper left hand and the hanging lower left hand is without any object.³

1. Smith, V. A., *IMC*, Oxford, 1906 (hence p. 68, coin nos. 1, 2, 3, 4).

2. *IMC*, no. 9.

3. *Ibid*, no. 67.

But my examination of this piece has revealed that the lower left hand holds a vase (Pl. VI. 3). Another coin of the same king bears the affinities with this God.¹

Two other copper coins of Kanishka depict Śiva with four hands, standing, holding thunderbolt in the upper right hand, a noose in the lower right hand, and trident in the upper left hand.² Smith suggests that the lower left hand of the deity is on the hip, holding water-vessel. But this lower left hand is not placed on the hip, though it carries a water-vessel (Pl. VI. 4).

Śiva also figures on a copper coin of Kanishka which shows two-armed deity as standing, and holding a staff in the right hand. According to Smith³ the left hand hanging down, holds a club (?). A water-vessel or a vase appears to have been placed in the left hand (Pl. VI. 5).

A copper coin⁴ of Huvishka represents Śiva as standing. Smith finds difficulty in recognising the objects held in his four hands. Our examination enables us to trace a long staff in the upper left hand of the deity.

Śiva appears on two copper coins of Huvishka.⁵ The deity has two hands, holding a spear in the right hand. The other object held in the left hand has been missed by Smith. It is a vase.

On another copper coin of Huvishka Śiva is figured as four-armed.⁶ Smith fails to identify the objects held in the hands; according to us the lower right hand is in the *tarjanī-mudrā* (?) and the lower left hand is on his waist.

1. *Ibid.*, no. 68.

2. *Ibid.*, no. 69 and 70.

3. *Ibid.*, no. 77.

4. *Ibid.*, no. 37.

5. *Ibid.*, no. 40 and 45.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 75.

TWO KSHATRAPA SILVER COINS FROM PAUNAR

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

(Pl. VIII)

A large number of Kshatrapa silver coins have been reported from different parts of the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra and the adjoining area of Madhya Pradesh, both in hoards as well as stray finds, and have been published from time to time in this *Journal* and elsewhere'. Recently my friend Shri Raghunath Sanghi of Durga Stores, Nagpur, acquired a couple of Kshatrapa coins and was kind enough to place them at my disposal for study and publication. According to the information supplied by him, both these coins were found at the ancient mounds at Paunar after a heavy shower in 1919.

One of these coins belongs to Rudrasena II and the other to Bhartridāman II, a son of the former. The legend on the first coin is in an excellent state of preservation while that on the second is only partially readable and is just sufficient to enable us to identify the issuing chief. A portion of the coin developed a strong crack at the time of striking and consequently the remaining portion of the legend did not come out as boldly as the other part. Only faint traces of letters in this portion are legible. (Pl. VII. 2)

The coins may now be described.

I. Coin of Rudrasena II

Silver; diameter 1.39 x 1.45 cm.; weight 2 gms.

Obv. : Usual Kshatrapa bust to right. Date behind is completely worn out.

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1. See *Bombay Gazetteer* (henceforth *B G*) I (i), pp. 49 and 59; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bangal* (henceforth *JRASB*) *Numismatic Supplement* (Astatic Society of Bangal), XLVII, pp. 95-99; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 167-68; XVI, pp. 207-208; XXII, p. 113; XXIII, pp. 335-39; XXVII, 94: XXXI, pp. 22-26; XXXIII, pp. 117-19; XXXV, pp. 118-22; XXXVI, pp. 111-13; XXXVII, pp. 152-53 and 154-57.

- Rev.* : Three-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent above the river symbol; on left, a crescent; on right, a star shown by cluster of dots. Circular Brāhmī legend beginning at 1 o'clock, *Rājnaḥ Kshatrapasa Vīrada(dā)ma-putrasa Rājñah Kshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.* (Pl. VII. 2)

II. Coin of Bhartṛidāman II

As stated above, because of a forceful stroke at the time of striking, it has developed a crack at one point. For the same reason the devices on the obverse and a major portion of the legend on the reverse have become flattened.

Silver; diameter 1.40 x 1.38 cm.; weight 2 gms.

- Obv.* : Kshatrapa type bust to right as usual. Behind, date which is probably 225. There are four bankers marks, one on the cheek and three on the head above the right eye.

- Rev.* : Three-peaked hill topped by a crescent above the river symbol; cluster of dots on right and a faint trace of crescent on left. Circular Brāhmī legend beginning at 2 o'clock *Rajña Mahakshatrapasa Rudra mnaḥ.* The complete legend can be restored as *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Bhartṛidāmnaḥ.*

(Pl. VII. 1)

Even though the legend has come out only partially, the identity of the issuer is not difficult. It is clear from the preserved portion that the name of the issuing chief ended in *dāman* and that he was son of a chief whose name began with Rudra. This can apply only to Bhartṛidāman II. The date indicates that it must be assigned to the period of his rule as Mahākshatrapa. The restoration suggested above is based on these considerations and is beyond doubt.

As stated above, Kshatrapa coins have been found in plenty in the Vidarbha region. As there is no independent evidence of the Kshatrapa rule over the Vidarbha region, it may be reasonably assumed that the frequent finds of the Kshatrapa coins in this area are due to the great popularity enjoyed by them in commercial circles. It may be pointed out

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in this connection that the Kshatrapa coins have been reported in a fairly good number from many other far-flung areas which cannot even be dreamt to have ever come under the sway of the Western Kshatrapas.¹ There is also some evidence to show that attempts were made to forge Kshatrapa coins and the forger's apparatus has also been reported from a few sites.² All this is an indication of the great value attached to these coins in those days.

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1. Hoards of Kshatrapa coins have been reported from places like Karad (*BG*, I (i), pp. 48-49), Ranjangaon (*JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 27-37), Petlurpalem (*Indian Archaeology : A Review*, 1956-57, p. 77; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII, pp. 269-74) and Tirthahalli (*Annual Report of Mysore Archaeology Department*, 1947-56, pp. 54-60), etc., which were situated far away from the Kshatrapa territories.
 2. Forger's apparatus has been reported from Bhokardan and Kaundinyapura in Maharashtra and Eraṇ in Madhya Pradesh and from a few other places.

A NEW TYPE OF ĀRJUNĀYANA COIN

DEVENDRA HANDA

(Pl. V. 6)

The Ārjunāyanas, the descendants of Arjuna, as the name implies, figure in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (IV, i, 112)² for the first time. It has been held by some that they came into existence as a political community. In the Śuṅga period³ they began issuing their coins, all in copper, as early as the first century B. C.⁴, bearing the legends *Ārjunāyananāṃ* or *Ārjunāyanānā jaya* in the Brāhmī script.⁵ According to Smith, the Ārjunāyana coins are 'closely related, in one way or another, to the money of the Northern Satraps, Yaudheyas, and other ancient powers'.⁶ Ārjunāyana

1. In literature, two persons bearing this name are quite well-known : The Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna and the Haihaya king Arjuna. [The Prārjunas mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, also be connected with the third Pāṇḍava. For a detailed history of the Ārjunāyanas, see K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach*, (henceforth *THAI*) pp. 17 ff.].
2. They do not appear in the *Aṭṣhādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and the *Mahābhārata*. [It is generally believed that the major portion of the *Gaṇapāṭha* was composed by Pāṇini. *THAI*]
3. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, third impression, Bangalore, 1955, p. 148. E. J. Rapson places them in the later part of the first century B. C. or the earlier part of the first century A. D. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, pp. 106-07 [Their coins of debased silver have been recently reported. See K. K. Dasgupta, 'A Unique Silver Coin of the Ārjunāyanas', *JNSI*, XXXIX, pp. 49 ff.].
4. *Ibid.*, V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 160. Rapson (*Indian Coins*, p. 11) ascribes their coins to the latter part of the first century B. C. or the first part of the first century A. D. [Also see *THAI*, pp. 20 ff, CN. 14-16]
5. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 89 Pl. VIII. 20; Rapson, *op. cit.*, Pl. III. 20; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 166; *THAI*, loc. cit
6. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 160. Cunningham (*op. cit.*, p. 90) classed them with Mathura coins because they were procurable in that city. His suggestion that Ajudhan on the bank of the old Satlej river, still preserves some traces of their name, is based only on sound philology and does not bear any other evidence. And in this suggestion he seems to have contradicted himself when we consider his statement, "To them (i. e. the Yaudheyas) I would attribute the foundation of the town of Ajudhan" (*The Ancient Geography of India*, reprint, Varanasi, 1963, p. 208).

coins are very rare and in the absence of any record of their provenance, Smith's suggestion that the Ārjunāyanas were settled in the 'region lying west of Agra and Mathurā, equivalent roughly speaking, to the Bharathpur and Ahoar states' is still held in high esteem.*

Recently I have obtained from my friend Pt. Mauji Ram Bharadwaj of Nohar, a new type of Ārjunāyana coin which is described below.

Description of the Coin :

Metal	: Copper
Shape	: Oval
Size	: 1.5=1.3 cm.
Weight	: 3.300 gms=51 grs. apprs.
Findspot	: Nohar ³
Obverse	: Tree in railing in the centre, Brāhmī legend around : Ā (r) junāyan (āna) beginning at VII and ending at XI and traces of letters....sa (or ta) pa tha (or da) ⁴ between III and VI, all in in slight incuse.
Reverse	: Lion to right sitting on its hind legs, with curled tail, facing a post (?), traces of some letter or symbol to left near the tail of the animal.

Palaeographically, the coin may be ascribed to the first century B. C.

It is well-known that the Ārjunāyanas based their coinage on copper only like the Rajanyas, Śibis, Mālavas etc.⁵ But for the Mālavas who could not shake off their fascination for rectangular or square shape, almost all the republican peoples settled in Rajasthan issued circular coins

1. [Allan places them in the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra, *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum*, London, 1936, p. XXXXIII, KKDG]
2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897, p. 886.
3. The coin was found by one Mr. Pili Ram Sahdev from an old mound lying nearly 4 km. east of the modern town of Nohar.
4. Except 'pa' other letters are not clear.
5. S. K. Chakraborty, "The Tribal Coins of Northern India", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters), Vol. II, 1936, No. 3, p. 4. No silver coin of any of these republican people has been found as yet. [See fn. 4. Editor]

only.¹ Though oval in shape if noted very carefully, yet, broadly speaking, the present coin also falls in that very category. The diameter of the known Ārjunāyana coins ranges between .6 and .67 inch and it conforms to this size. An Ārjunāyana coin described by Cunningham weighs 81 grains and the two coins described in Smith's *Catalogue* weigh 61.3 and 14.8 grains. The latter two have been regarded as $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ *kārshāpaṇa* but sufficient data are not available to lead us to any positive and final conclusion about the identity of the weight standard adopted by the Ārjunāyanas and many other ancient republics.² The weight of the present coin, however, conforms to the weight of 50.4 grs. of pure copper coin of the Rājanyas in Smith's *Catalogue*.³ Besides this affinity of weight standard there are certain other features also which class the Ārjunāyana coins with those of the Rājanyas. The diameter of the Rājanya coins with Brāhmī legends⁴ also ranges between .61 and .68 inch and agrees very well with the size of the Ārjunāyana coins. In respect of the devices of the tree-in-railing on the obverse and the figure of a lion on reverse of the present piece, it is practically identical with the coins of the Rājanya janapada.⁵ Standing figure with right hand raised as in the Northern Satrap coins and the humped bull standing to left are the other devices common to Ārjunāyana and Rājanya coinages. Both the tribes were issuing coins in the first century B. C. We thus see that in metal, shape, size, weight, legend, devices and chronology the Ārjunāyana and Rājanya coinage fall in one category and it is very likely that the two republics were contiguous to each other or were in a position to influence each other greatly.⁶

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46. [This is not correct. The Uddehikas of Rajasthan issued rectangular coins. *THAI*, pp. 174ff, CN. 199-100]

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

3. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 179. The weight of Cunningham's piece (81 grs.) also harmonises with a 79 grain. A Rājanya coin noticed in Smith *Catalogue* (No. 4, p. 179). [There is another Ārjunāyana coin in the British Museum which weigh 53 grains, to which the present coins approximates. *THAI*, p. 23. KKDG]

4. Rājanya coins with Kharoshthī legends were not prevalent in Rajasthan.

5. Chakraborty, *Op. cit.*, p. 93. [A series of the copper coins of the Agras of the Punjab-Haryana also bear a tree-in-railing on the obverse and the figure of a lion on the reverse. And therefore this numismatic kinship between these two people deserves attention. See *THAI*, pp. 6, 14. Lion also appears on some. KKDG]

6. Cf. Smith, *JRAS*, 1897, p. 886. [The instance of the aforesaid series of the Agra coins should also be recalled in this connection. And also coins of the Mālavas. *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 119, 120 etc, KKDG]

Though the findspot of a coin does not necessarily mean the extension of territory of a ruler or a tribe, yet the camel and lion devices (which were both exclusive to the desert regions of Rajasthan) on the Ārjunāyana coins and the findspot of our coin may indicate that the Ārjunāyanas extended from the fertile land of Bharatpur to the sandy tract of Nohar in the Rajputana desert.¹

The incuse on the obverse clearly indicates to be a die-struck coin. The anvil held the die having negative impression of the reverse device and the obverse die was fixed to the punch which was to be hammered from above. The evidence of the present coin suggests that the strikers took care to put the upper and lower devices parallel to each other.²

The device of lion, the king of the beasts, was confined to the desert region only and it figures on the coins of the Mālavas, the Rājanyas and Ārjunāyanas.³ On the latter too, the depiction of lion facing a post is

1. I would like to adduce and describe here another rare and interesting coin recovered from an old mound near the village Dhanasia, about 50 km. south-west of Nohar and nearly 20 km. west of Pandusar, in tahsil Nohar, district Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan *AE*, Round, 1.4 cm., 4.860 gms. = 75 grs.

Obvers : Tree in railing in the centre and traces of the Br. legend around.

Reverse : Lion sitting on its hind legs to right, facing a post (?)

Though the Brāhmī letters on obverse are not distinct yet there seem to be the traces of letters 'yana' on the left of the tree in railing and 'dasa' on its right. These letters may be a part of the legend 'Ārjunāyanana janapadasa'. The coin weighs almost 1½ times the weight of the Ārjunāyana coin found from Nohar and in obverse and reverse devices it corresponds exactly with the latter.

This coin shows affinities with one described as an allied coin of the Rājanyas by Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 180, No. 8) with the difference that the lion on one coin faces right like the Ārjunāyana coin from Nohar whereas the animal faces left on Smith's coin. If it can be taken as another Ārjunāyana coin it corroborates our view point that the janapada occupied the sandy tracts of Nohar during the first century B. C.

This coin, too, was obtained by me through the courtesy of my friend Pt. Mauji Ram Bharadwaj.

2. [Coins of the Agras, Kulūtas, Mālavas, and the Yaudheyas, among others, were die-struck. *THAI* p. 254]
3. [Lion as a device is confined prominently to the Agras and the Rājanyas. A half-lion-half-elephant motif appears on a solitary coins of the Vṛishṇīs. *THAI*, pp. 189 ff. For a discussion on the lion-device see, *ibid.*, pp. 13-14. KKDG]

similar with the only difference of the direction in which it faces. Most probably the figure of a lion was the religious symbol of the Ārjunāyānas and the Rājanyas.¹ Whatsoever it indicated, it is, however, quite clear that the artist who carved this animal was endowed with an appreciable plastic vision and competence in its articulation.

In any case, the discovery of this new Ārjunāyana coin is a valuable addition to the rare and a few coins of the tribe.

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1. It may be pointed out here that as a religious emblem the lion may represent Mahishamrdinī Durgā. There is evidence to show that the cult of Mahishamardinī was prevalent in some parts of Rajasthan during the first century B. C. R. C. Agrawal (*Actibus Asiae*, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1957, pp. 123-30, Pl. I; *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 72-4) has brought to light a Mahishamardinī plaque from Nagar (Tonk District) datable to the first century B. C.

[It may be of the first-wherein the lion has been depicted very prominently as the vehicle of the goddess. second century A. D. KKDG] [And also of the Agras. Only two specimens, they do not warrant for the lion being the religious symbol of the tribe concerned. KKDG]

TWO GOLD COINS FROM CHANDRAKETUGARH

GOURISANKAR DE

(Pl. VIII)

Numismatically, Bengal possesses a remote past. The Mahasthan Brāhmī inscription of the third century B. C. refers to a kind of coin, *Gandaka*. The *Periplus* (1st century A. D.) mentions *Celtis* as being used in the market town of Gange. There are references to *Paṇas* and *Karshā-paṇas* in the copper-plates of Kumāragupta I found from North Bengal (Dhanaidaha CP) and later in the copper plates of the Sena Kings (Tapan Dighi CP., Anudia CP. of Lakshmanasena). The actual numismatic finds confirm the literary evidences. Copper-cast and silver punch-marked coins, believed to be the oldest in circulation in India, have been found in large numbers from Phetgram in the Rajsahi District, Bhairalā Bazar in the Mymensingh District, and Uāri in the Dacca District (all these places are now in Bangladesh) and Gitagram in the Murshidabad District, Ujāni-Maṅgalkot in the Burwdan District, Bangarh in west Dinajpur, Mahanad in the Hooghly District etc, all the places being located in West Bengal.

Of the ancient sites of West Bengal, Chandraketugarh deserves the special attention of the numismatists. The ruins of the ancient city, lying only at a distance of 24 miles from Calcutta, have yielded hundres of silver punch-marked and copper cast coins, some Gupta gold coins of rare variety and a Kushāṇa gold coin.

In course of my exploration, I discovered and recovered two gold coins from Chandraketugarh one issued by Huvishka and the other by Chandragupta II.

I found the Gupta coin in the month of October, 1970. The coin was originally picked up by Sophier Rahaman Dafadar, a Muslim inhabitant of the village of Simher Ati, adjacent to the old rampart of Chandraketugarh. It was found out from sands piled up in course of digging a canal by the Government in 1964. I purchased the coin from Sophier Rahaman and it is now in my possession.

The second coin is a issue (Pl. VIII. 2a) of Chandragupta II (376-414 A. D.). It is an archer type coin. As usual, it portrays the standing king,

with a bow in the left and an arrow in the right hand. The king is shown bare-bodied but wearing ear-rings and necklace. The royal person speaks of vigour and muscular strength. There is a Garuḍa-headed standard. The name *Chandra* is vertically written under the arm, indicating clearly that the said coin issued by the emperor Chandragupta II. No legend occurs on the coin. The reverse depicts the goddess Lakshmī seated on a full-blown lotus with a noose (*pāśa*) in her hand. The goddess wears loose robe, necklace and armlets.

The coin weighs about 122 grains. Its diameter is $6\frac{3}{4}$ Cm.

The coin of Huvishka was found at the village Dewan Ati, close to Haroa Potlice station, which was once, perhaps, included within the ancient city of Chandraketugarh.¹ It is described below :

Obverse : Bust of king, *SAONANO SAO OOHSKI KOSANO*.

Reverse : Goddess standing right, holding in right hand sceptre; symbol; *Nana*. (Pl. VIII. I & 1a)

The coin weighs about 120 grains. Its diameter is $6\frac{1}{2}$ c. m.

Of particular interest is a fastener of gold fixed above it suggesting that the coin, after serving its usual purpose was, perhaps, used as an ornament. Sri P. C. Dasgupta, Director of Archaeology, West Bengal, drew my attention to the Roman findings from Koadapur in Andhra represented by a series of ornamental looped clay imitations of the gold coins of emperor Tiberius.

Two more gold coins of the same emperor are reported from Mahanad in the Hooghly district West Bengal and the Sundhban area in the district of 24 Parganas in West Bengal.²

This is for the first time that a Kushāṇa coin has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and this is the only one of its kind so far discovered

1. The said coin was found out by Mahammad Kinutolla Dewan while re-excavating a pond in his house. I purchased the coin from Mr. Dewan on the 20th June, 1972.
2. 'Mahānāde Prāchin Nagari Ābiskār', Gurudas Roy, *Bhāratvarsha*, Bhādra, V. S. 1340, p. 382; D. P. Ghosh, p. 59. *Studies in Museum and Museology in India*.

from this ancient site. So its importance is indeed great. Sri P. C. Dasgupta comments : "The discovery of the gold coin of Huvishka (from Dewan Ati) may be evaluated not only in the light of the occurrence of Kharoshthī legends on terracotta sealing and potsherds from the site but also in the perspective of ancient maritime contacts between the Lower Ganges Valley and the Graeco—Roman World".

The discovery of the coin of Huvishka has thrown a new light on the economic life of the ancient port city, Chandraketugarh, and her maritime contacts with the outside world. It reminds us of the days when Bengal suggested sailors and foreign vessels touched her ports.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE SILVER COINS OF THE KUSHĀNAS

OM PRAKASH SINGH

Though the Kushānas introduced a gold coinage¹, they did not mint silver coins. It is generally suggested by scholars that the Kushānas did not issue a silver currency.² On the other hand, the Western Kshatrapas continued to strike silver coins without minting gold coins, although, as a Nasik inscription of Ushavadāta shows, their coinage was related to a gold coinage in certain definite ratio. In the present paper we shall enquire whether the Kushānas minted silver currency? If so, what are its economic implications?

In this connection, an important information is gleaned from the Mathura inscription of the year 28, of the time of Huvishka. It records that 550 *Purāṇas* were deposited with the guild of flour-makers at Mathura, out of the monthly interest of which a hundred Brāhmaṇas were to be served daily.³ Here the *Purāṇas* are apparently the silver coins which were in circulation in the Mathura region which then was under the Kushānas. But, strangely only a few silver coins of the Kushānas are known to us. The list of the silver coins is given below :

(A) One silver coin of Wema Kadphises weighing 56.5 grains is in the British Museum.

(B) One silver coin of Kanishka was published in *ASIAR*, 1925-26.

(C) One coin of Huvishka was published in *JBBRAS*, XXIV, p. 384, another coin of the same ruler has been published in *JNSI*, II, p. 113.

1. One gold punch—marked coin is referred to by A. L. Basham. *The Wouder That was India*, p. 505; and recently two gold punch-marked coins have been described in *JNSI*, XXXIV, pt. I. p. 153-56. Some scholars believe that Menander, an Indo-Greek king, also issued a gold currency. Some gold coins of Diodotus I and Euthydemus I are also known to us. According to U. Thakur, *Mints And Minting in India*, p. 157, they were not in circulation in India.
2. R. S. Sharma, *JNSI*, XXXI, pt., I, p. 2.
3. *EI*, XXI, Inscription no. 10; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 152 (1965 ed).

(D) Twelve silver coins belonging to Wema Kadphises, Kanishka and Kaneshko were published by Altekar; but he believed that all these silver coins except the British Museum specimen, were forgeries from moulds.

(E) Two silver coins of Huvishka having Nana and Oesho on the reverse, published by A. K. Narain,¹ are considered to be genuine.² Their weight is about 32 grains.

The meagre number of these coins may suggest that the Kushāṇas did not have a regular silver currency. It will be wrong to say that they did not mint coins in the silver at all. Many reasons to explain the paucity of the silver coins of the Kushāṇas have been advanced by the scholars. By the reign of Azes II, the Indo-Scythian ruler, there was an acute shortage of silver. Consequently a heavily debased silver currency was in circulation in north-western India.³ By the time of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondopharnes, pure silver coinage disappeared and gave place to billon⁴ pieces. Cunningham has suggested that, 'As the Kuṣāṇas struck no silver money, the old silver coins of Greeks and the Śaka-scythians must have continued current.'⁵ This would imply that the silver coins of the preceding dynasties served the needs so that the Kushāṇas hardly felt it necessary to introduce their own silver coinage. There is another suggestion that the heavy debasement of the silver coinage compelled the Kushāṇas 'not to have any regular silver currency'.⁶ B. N. Mukherjee has convincingly shown that 'conditions were thus ripe for the operation of a modern economic principle called Gresham's Law'.⁷ According to this law the bad money ousts the good money from circulation. The alarming tendency to oust good money by bad money became so strong in north-western India that an important ruler like Azes II could not check it, and later even the

1. *JNSI*, XXII, 1960 p. 100 ff.

2. Cf. B. Chattopadhyay. *The Age of the Kushāṇas*, p. 204.

3. *Taxila*-I, p. 68; II, pp. 781 and 785; *JNSI* XXII, pp. 68-69.

4. *IHQ*, Vol., 38, p. 123. Billon coins contain 4/5 copper and 1/5 silver cf. U. Thakur *op. cit.*, p. 157.

5. *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas and Kushāṇas*, pp. 20-21.

6. According to G. L. Adhya, *Early Indian Economics*, p. 179; the silver currency was debased to such an extent that, 'the Kushāṇas had no other option but to change the coin standard to avoid financial chaos and reestablish credit'. cf. *Taxila*, I, p. 68.

7. *JAS*, IX No. I, p. 6.

Imperial Kushānas had to refrain from minting any regular silver coinage, even though they attempted many reforms in the currency system.¹

Recently R. S. Sharma has suggested that some important source of silver suddenly dried up in Kushāna times², which caused a sudden disappearance of silver money. But the view of R. S. Sharma cannot be regarded conclusive because silver mines in India are referred to in the *Arthaśāstra*, *Bṛhatsamhitā* and some foreign accounts. Megasthenes mentions the availability of silver in India.³ Rich mines of gold and silver in mountains not far from the Salt Range in the Punjab are mentioned by Strabo.⁴

The *Arthaśāstra* gives a definite impression that there were silver mines in the country.⁵ It specifically mentions five regions as yielding silver.⁶ Of these Gauḍa is well known, but the identification of the remaining sources, Tutthodgata, Kambuka and Cakravalika, is difficult.⁷ Yuan Chwang also describes gold and silver as the natural products of India.⁸ However, P. Roy has pointed out that these ores till now not known to occur in India, suggest their importation from neighbouring countries.⁹ But in the light of the literary references to the mines, Roy's suggestion is not convincing.¹⁰

1, *Ibid.*

2. R. S. Sharma, *JNSI*, XXXI, pt. I, p. 2; cf U. Thakur, *loc. cit.*

3. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 30. 'And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under-ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornaments, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war'. This observation is supported by the eminent geologist, V. Ball, *Economic Geology of India*, p. xv.

4. McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

5. *Arth.*, II, 12,6.

6. *Ibid.*, II, 13.10.

7. See L. Gopal, in *The Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins* (ed. by A. K. Narain, and L. Gopal), pp. 64-76. According to L. Gopal (*op. cit.* p. 75. fn. 2) most of the mines listed in the passage were in India.

8. Beal, I. p. 59-Gold and silver were available from Śatadru, Bolon and Takka *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 165 and 178).

9. *History of Chemistry*, pp. 57-58.

10. Cf, U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

The paucity of silver coins is to be explained by the suggestion that the metal was dearer in the first century A. D. and was exported from outside. The *Periplus* speaks of the import of silver at Barygaza¹ and Baribaricum. But when we study the accounts of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya together, it appears that the native supply of silver was by no means scare.³ It would appear from the above discussion that before the beginning of the Christian era there were a good number of mines in the north-western regions as well as in Bengal and areas to its east. The *Periplus* and Pliny suggest that there was a paucity of silver from the beginning of the first century A. D. But this possibly holds good for some areas which could not utilise the native source.⁴ The Kushāṇas could get the silver from Afghanistan, Punjab and Rajasthan.

There is no confirmation of the suggestion that some important sources of silver dried up in the Kushāṇa period. But then the question will be why did the Kushāṇas not strike in silver? We have mentioned above that Gresham's principle was in operation and the Kushāṇas had to yield to it. It has been shown that silver was easily available to them. The available data shows that silver was not scarce in the Kushāṇa empire (Northern India); its paucity might have been felt in western India and Deccan.

In the Nasik inscription of Ushavadāta, dated in the years 41, 42, and 45, the rate of exchange between a silver *Kārshāpaṇa* and a gold *Suvarṇa* is 35 to 1.⁵ We know that the silver *Kārshāpaṇa*, otherwise known as *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* was of 32 *raktikās* and a gold *Kārshāpaṇa* was of 80 *raktikās*. On the basis of this table and epigraphic evidence, the rate of exchange between the two metals may work out as 32x35: 80 or 14:1.⁶ The silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas weigh between 34 and 39 grains⁷ and the standard gold coin during the second century A. D. weighed 124

1. W. H. Schoff (ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythran Sea*, pp. 42-49.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39. Silver and gold plates were imported at Baribaricum. Cf. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond The Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 118-120.

3. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

4. *Ibid.*, Cf. U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

5. *EI*, VIII, p. 82 ff.

6. A. N. Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 133.

7. *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Andhra dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, etc.* p. 66, No. 146; cf. Altekar, *CGE*, p. 301.

grains. Applying the formula given in the inscription the ratio between silver and gold would be about 39X35:124 or 11:1.¹ This relative value between silver and gold operated only in the Deccan. But, in North India the case was different. The silver coins of Wema Kadphises weigh 56.5 grains. Therefore in the light of the inscription, the relative value between silver and gold would be 56.5X35:124 or 15.7:1 (16:1). Thus silver was cheaper in North India, particularly in the Kushāṇa empire, as compared to the Deccan because in the North India the ratio between silver and gold was 16:1 whereas in the Deccan it was 11:1.

The Kushāṇas had ample silver but they required gold to compete in the international market. In the South, the gold was in abundance as compared to North, as it was being imported at Barygaza. Therefore, in their trade relations with the South the Kushāṇas exchanged silver with gold. Thus, silver was flowing from the North to the South and gold was flowing from the South to the North. This further sheds light on the availability of gold to the Kushāṇas.

The above discussion leads us to conclude as follows.

(A) The Kushāṇas issued silver currency though it was not regular.

(B) There is no evidence to show that some important sources of silver had dried up during the Kushāṇa period. The Kushāṇas could exploit the silver mines of Afghanistan, Punjab and Rajasthan. According to R. S. Sharma and U. Thakur, the sudden disappearance of silver money may be attributed to Kushāṇas being without an access to the silver mines of the Kharagpur hills.² But this explanation is not convincing.

(C) The paucity of silver coins is to be explained by the operation of Gresham's Law.

(D) The relative value of silver and gold varied in the North and the South. In North India the ratio was 16:1 whereas in the South it was 11:1. Hence it may be surmised that silver and gold were being exchanged between the North and South India. It appears from the

1. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 192; *JNSI*, XIII y. 189; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 65 fn. 5.

2. R. S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 2; U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

Periplus that Taxila, Barygaza and Ujjain were linked by trade-route.¹ Silver from Afghanistan could flow to Deccan by this trade-route.²

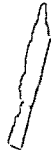
(E) The Kushāṇas failed to coin a regular silver currency but they had to compete in the international market, and required gold. It may be suggested that to curb the tendency to hoard silver coins to melt them the Kushāṇas searched out another way of economic profit. It was the exchange of silver with gold. The position becomes clear when we see the abundant silver currency of the Western Kshatrapas and the large number of gold coins of the Kushāṇas.³

(F) The ratio 16:1 goes against the testimony of the *Periplus*,

1. H. Chakraborty, *Trade and Commerce of Ancient India*, p. 166. See also Motichandra, *Sārthavāha*; p. 110. In this connection the importance of Mathura for trade is to be noted. Under the Kushāṇas it had links with Taxila and again was joined by routes from South India, Barygaza and Baribarcum-Batal. H. Chakraborty, *ibid.*, p. 170.
2. For the trade relations of the Sātavāhanas with Ujjain see H. Chakraborty. *op. cit.*, 199. Ujjain could carry its commerce with South India through the Ozene-Ter route. Thus, the silver coinage from the North was accessible to the South. In the same way gold could flow to the North. B. N. Mukherjee (*The Economic Factors In the Kuṣāṇa History*, pp. 16-17 and 24-27) has suggested that the economic profits of the lower-Indus and Mālava areas lured the Kushāṇas.
3. The abundance of gold in the South is shown in the Chinese legend occurring in the Yu Yang Tsu, composed by Tuan Cheng' che in A. D. 860. We learn from this legend that when Kanishka invaded the Sātavāhana empire, the inhabitants concealed the King (Sātavāhan) in an underground cave and cast a gold statue of the Sātavāhana ruler and took it to meet the invader. *vide* B. N. Mukherjee *op. cit.* p. 25. Beside the Kolar mine, gold was pouring in the South India from Rome as is evident from the statement of Pliny. See W. H. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 219. This account confirms and supplements the evidence about the Roman trade derived from the large number of Roman coins found in India. A large number of Roman gold coins have been found to the south of the Vindhya while only a few have been found in the North. For Roman coins found in South India see *JRAS*, 1904, p. 591-673; *Ancient India*, No. 2, Appendix II, pp. 116-21; P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins From Andhra Pradesh* (Andhra Government Museum Series, No. 10), pp. 41-45. Probably these Roman coins had only intrinsic value in the Indian context. Cf. *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 227; B. Srivastava *Trade and Commerce In Ancient India*, p. 193; U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 96 M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 167. According to R. S. Sharma (*Light On Early Indian Society And Economy*, p. 77), Roman gold coins may also have circulated in big transactions.

according to which in the first century A. D. silver was dearer in India than in the West. The statement is only partially true as silver was dearer in the South.

The two silver coins of Huvishka, published by A. K. Narain, weighing about 32 grains are also interesting. It is not clear whether these coins were issued in India or out side.¹ If they were issued in India, the rate of ratio between silver and gold would be 32 X 35:124 or 9:1. Thus, it is clear that the value of silver increased during the reign of Huvishka and seems to have been double or what it had been during the reign of Wema Kadphises. Silver coins were used in big transactions. The Mathura inscription of the time of Huvishka shows that 550 *Purāṇas* (silver coins) were deposited with the guild of flour-makers at Mathura and a hundred Brāhmaṇas were to be daily fed out of the interest received on it.²



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1. U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
 2. *EI*, XXI, Inscription No. 10.

SOME RARE EARLY COINS FROM CENTRAL INDIA AND ANDHRA PRADESH

K. D. BAJPAI

In the field of numismatics the region of Madhya Pradesh is extremely rich. It has earned the credit of providing some important missing links in the post-Mauryan history. Recently excavations at the ancient sites of Eran, Vidisha, Tripuri, Tumain, Ujjain and Malhār have brought to light valuable stratified evidence bearing particularly on the history of the Sātavāhanas, the Śuṅgas, the Nāgas, the Kshatrapas and the Guptas. The exploration work conducted at Pawaya and in the Betwa and Narmada valleys has also furnished some rare material very useful for the early political and cultural history.

Here I shall deal briefly with some new discoveries made in the field and shall give some of the conclusions arrived at by me.

Two main centres in the region of eastern Malwa, Eran and Vidisha, are known to have issued punch-marked copper *kārshāpaṇas* and their denominations. From the aesthetic point of view these coins rank high. They are square in shape and the punch-marked symbols on them usually show elephant, horse, tree in rail, *chandra-meru*, *vajra* (called Ujjain symbol), river, *svastika* and *Indradhvaja*. Most likely the minting of these coins started at Eran and Vidisha in the later half of the 3rd cent. B. C. Such coins were soon after prepared at a few other sites in the Sehore and Hoshangabad districts.

Some of the rulers with *mitra*-ending names adopted the punch-marking device for the preparation of their square copper coins. The name of the ruler is given in the form of one of the punch-marks struck either at the top or bottom of the coin. So far the names of the following rulers with *mitra* ending names¹ are known on the punch-marked copper coins from eastern Mālava :

1. The names of a few other Mitra rulers e. g. Bhūmitra and Mahīmitra, are known from the circular die-struck copper coins from Ujjain. Similarly, a copper coin of king Śivamitra has recently been acquired by me from Vidisha. These rulers can be assigned a period between c. 150 B. C. and 50 B. C.

(A) Punch-marked copper coins of Mitra rulers.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Nārāyaṇamitra | (2) Bhānumitra |
| (3) Vasu (or Vajra) mitra | (4) Ravimitra (?) |

The names on the coins are written in their Prākṛita forms. On the basis of their technique and palaeography these coins can roughly be dated to a period between c. 200 B. C. and 100 B. C.

Apart from the Mitra punch-marked coins, we have now some other inscribed punch-marked coins of considerable importance. They are mentioned hereunder :

(B) Punch-marked coins of non-Mitra kings.

1. Rāmabhadra.
2. Hastideva (legend Hathidevasa has wrongly been read by some as *Pathadeva*).

These coins are also square and are of the *kārshāpaṇa* type. Hastideva issued some die-struck coins also.

(C) Punch-marked coins of the Sātavāhanas.

A few *Kārshāpaṇa* coins bearing the legend *rano siri Sātakanisa* were known a few years back. One very clear coin of this ruler from Vidisha was published by me.¹

Recently a few more punch-marked coins of this ruler are known from near Babai, district. Hoshangabad.² Some more finds from that site and also from Vidisha are the punch-marked square coins of the half or quarter *kārshāpaṇa* type bearing the legend :

raño Siri Sātasa

This king is known to have issued a pretty good number of die-struck coins also, which are known from the area outside eastern Malwa as well.³ Recently a coin of this king of the punch-marked type was obtained by me from excavations at Tumain (dist. Guna).

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1. *Proc. Seminar on Sātavāhana Coins* (1972); and Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 114-15.
 2. I am thankful to Prof. K. B. Tewari of Hoshangabad for kindly showing me these and other coins from Babai in his collection.
 3. For details see Bajpai, *Ibid.*, pp. 115-18.

(D) *Punch-marked coins of Bhagila.*

The legend on these full and *ardha-kārshāpaṇas* is *Bhāgilāyā*, written in bold Aśokan Brāhmī characters. These coins were most probably issued by a city state called Bhagil.

S. L. Katare, while publishing five Bhagila coins for the first time¹, wrote that they were all die-struck coins. These were obtained from the southern bank of the Narmada near Jamaniā in the Hoshangabad district. But to me these coins appear to be of the punch-marked type. Four of the five coins of Katare are blank on the reverse, a feature of the *kārshāpaṇas* of eastern Malwa. Several punch-marked Bhāgilā coins are now known from the site mentioned above and its neighbourhood.²

A. S. Altekar was right in reading *Bhāgilāyā* not *Bhagilāya*, as Katare did. The period assigned to this coinage between c. 200 B. C. and 100 B. C. by Altekar seems to be correct.³ The city-state of Bhāgilā was probably located on the southern bank of the Narmada north of Jamaniā. The site is represented by extensive ancient mounds.

These punch-marked inscribed coins and a few early die-struck coins from the Betwa-Narmada valleys, giving the names of rulers and of some *janapadas*, are remarkable. They have placed before us new material pertaining to the history of the Śuṅga-Kāṇva-Sātavāhana period.

It is interesting to mention here that from Eran names of two early rulers of about 200 B. C. are already known. One is of Dharampāla known from his single die-struck coins (now in the British Museum).⁴ The other is of Indragupta. He is known from the legend given on his die (of a full *kārshāpaṇa* size) struck on a semi-circular lead piece recovered from Eran excavation. The legend in Mauryan Brāhmī characters is *raño Indagutasa*.⁵

1. *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 9-14, pl. II, 13-17.

2. Prof. K. B. Tiwari has recently shown to me several punch-marked Bhagila coins in his collection. He has very kindly given to me two such coins.

3. Dr. Katare places the time of Bhāgilā and other city-states before the rise of the Śuṅgas. *JNSI*, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 101, pl. XI, 18; Allan, *BMC, AI.*, p. xci, 140, pl. XVIII, 6. The complete legend on the coin is *raño Dhamapalasa*.

5. See Bajpai, *Sagar Through the Ages* (Sagar, 1964), p. 7, pl. XVIII (a).

From the die-struck lead piece of king Indragupta it is clear that the die-striking device was current in eastern Malwa in c. 200 B. C. side by side the punching method for preparation of coins. The excavations conducted at several sites in eastern Malwa, e. g. Eran, Vidisha and Tumain, have confirmed this.

The recent discovery of some die-struck square copper and potin coins from an ancient site near a village Kota-Lingla on the right bank of the river Godavari, about 60 kms. from the district head-quarters of Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh is worth-mention here. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry has published these rare coins.¹ He deserves acclamation for this important discovery.

The coins are of 6 rulers, two of them (Gobhadra and Sāmigopa) being pre-king *Sātavāhana*. As many as 10 coins of Gobhadra and 38 of Sāmigopa are reported.

As regards the *Sātavāhana* coins from Kotā-Lingla 8 are of Chhimuka *Sātavāhana*, 16 of *Sātakarni* and 8 are of king *Sātavāhan*. One coin of king *Śrī Nārāyaṇa* has also been discovered. These coins are briefly discussed below :

I. *Gobhadra* :

The coins of this ruler are almost of the size of the copper *kārshāpanas* (either square or rectangular). The legend on them has rightly been restored by Sastry as *raño Gobhadasa*.

The symbols on the coins are : 3-arched *meru*, bow & arrow. Reverse is blank.

On palaeographic grounds, this king can be placed between c. 125 and 100 B. C.

The name Gobhadra can be compared with Gomitra of Mathura or Bhadrakhoṣa of Pāñchāla.

II. *Svāmi Gopa* :

The second king Svāmigopa issued a much larger number of coins than Gobhadra. His coins have been put under three categories by Sastry :

1. *Numismatic Digest*, Bombay, Vol. II. (June, 1978), pp. 10-21.

(i) *Bow-arrow*, (ii) *Tree type* and (iii) *Bull-type*. The coins are square or rectangular in shape.

The coins bear some additional interesting symbols, such as *Svastika*, double standard with a triangle, *Indra-dhvaja*, *tri ratna* and *śaḍara chakra*. The last one is sometimes counter-struck.

The reverse of these coins wears *tri ratna*, and surmounting *vajra*. The legend has been restored *rāṇo Sāmigopasa* (i. e. of king Svāmigopa). This king can be assigned a period between c. 100 and 75 B. C.

III. *Chimuka (Timuka or Srīmukha) :¹*

These coins bear on the obverse figures of elephant, *Indra-dhvaja*, *Śrīvatsa*, tree, *vajra*, *Svastika* and 3-arched hill.

The legend on the obverse has been restored as :

raṇo Siri Chimuka Sātavāhanasa

The time assigned to this ruler by Sastry on the basis of legends on the coins is middle of 1st cent. B. C.

IV. *Sātakarṇi*—His coins are square in shape and are made of copper or point.

The obverse has symbols of elephant, *Indra dhvaja* and *Svastika*. Legend on the top is *Satakani*.

The reverse shows Ujjain symbols and *Svastika*.

On the basis of palaeography this king can be placed after c. 50 B. C.

V. *Sātavāhana*—The coins of this king from Kota-Lingla are of two types : tree and elephant.

The obverse has tree in railing or elephant along with the usual other symbols.

Below, the Brāhmī legend reads : *Siri Sātavāhana*.

The usual symbols *tri ratna*, *vajra* and *svastika* occur on the reverse.

1. In the Nanaghat, relievo label inscription, the name is Simuka. The Purāṇas call him Sindhuka, Śisuka, etc.

This ruler on the basis of these coins should be placed after Simuka, i. e. after 50-40 B. C.

It is interesting to note that no coins of the later Śātavāhanas are known from the Karimnagar site.

After the publication of the above mentioned coins Sastry came across at Kotla-lingla a new inscribed copper coin bearing the name of Śrī Nārāyaṇa. The coin is square in shape. On the obverse the Brāhmī legend of the 1st cent. B. C. reads : *Siri Nārāyaṇasa*. The reverse shows *meru* and *tri ratna* symbols.¹

Sastry feels that Nārāyaṇa of this coin can be identified with the Kāṇva king of the same name mentioned in the Purāṇic lists. But I doubt this identification. Nārāyaṇa of the new coin may be a local ruler.

Sastry is correct in his statement that "even after the Kāṇvas dislodged the Śuṅgas in the Magadha region, the latter were still exercising some authority probably in Vidisha and the Deccan". But it is not possible to agree with him when he says that "Gobhadrā and Sami Gopa (of the above-mentioned coins) were the scions of the Śuṅga family who ruled Vidisha and the Deccan including Andhra in the post-Śātavāhana (?) period."²

The new numismatic evidence from the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, when studied along with the material now known from the Betwa-Narmada valleys, poses before us certain problems for consideration in regard to the post-Mauryan history.

I would like to place my views pertaining to the main points arising out of the study of the above-mentioned and the allied evidence as follows.

1. Simuka, the Andhra king, started his rule in the lower Godavari valley about 60-50 B. C. after dislodging the last local king of that area. The defeated king was probably Svāmī Gopa of the coins, a later Śuṅga or a Śuṅgabhritya king.
2. The last Kāṇva king Suśarmā³ of the Purāṇic list was also defeated by Simuka in the north.

1. Sastry, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

2. *Ibid.*

3. It is not correct to suppose that the Kāṇvas ruled over Central India (beyond Vidisha), Deccan or the lower Godavari valley. So far no tangible evidence to support this conjecture has been obtained from those regions, not even from eastern Malwa.

3. The new numismatic evidence tends to show that the later Śuṅgas or the Śuṅgabhṛityas were successful in extending their sway in the entire eastern Mālava and beyond the Betwa-Narmda source regions to the lower Godavari. They ruled over those regions upto about 60-50 B. C. At this time they came into conflict with the re-asserting power of the Andhras under Simuka and were eventually defeated by Simuka, who gave a final end to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva power.¹ This could not be achieved during the time of Sātakarṇi I, who had extended his sway upto eastern Mālava (under the Śuṅga rule) much before the time of Simuka. It appears that the relations between Sātakarṇi I and his contemporary Śuṅga ruler of Central India were cordial.² This good relationship seems to have lasted upto the time of the Sātavāhana king Śrī Sāta, whose punch-marked and die-struck coins in a good number are known from an extensive region (from Ujjain & Tumain upto Tripuri). The king of these coins can possibly be identified with Śaktiśrī or king no. 6 of the Purāṇic list.³
4. The coins bearing the name of king Sātavāhana (or Sadavahana) are now known in a good number.⁴ It is apparent that several rulers of the dynasty issued their coins with that name (like the name of Sātakarṇi). The time range of these coins can be between c. 50 B. C. and 100 A. D.⁵
5. The first major capital of the Sātavāhanas was Dhānyakaṭaka. Later on when their power extended to north and west, they made Pratishthāna (Paithan) their capital in the Deccan. Ujjain, Vidisha, Tripuri, Halhar, etc. were their temporary headquarters, where coins of some of the early Sātavāhana kings have been discovered.
6. The rulers of Betwa-Narmada valleys and also of the lower Godavari valley, whose coins have been referred to above were followers of the

1. This is corroborated by the Purāṇic description. See H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th ed. (1972) pp. 358 ff.

2. This can be inferred from the Sāñchī inscription of Sātakarṇi I. For the punch-marked coins of this ruler and his period, see Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 114-15.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

4. These have been found not only in Andhra Pradesh but also in Deccan and lower Mālawa.

5. For views of A. H. Siddiqui and Gupta see *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 77-88.

Vedic cult; so also were the Sātavāhanas. I give below the details of a few more significant recent discoveries in Madhya Pradesh.

An ancient site Nandur, 22 kms. S. E. of Bhopal has yielded a few copper coins with letters *Nada* or *Nada[pu]*, indicating that the ancient name of the site was probably Nandipura. The Brāhmī characters on the coins are early Mauryan. The site has also yielded some copper coins of the *Kārshāpaṇa* variety and also cast and die-struck coins with beautifully carved symbols on them. Some square coins bear the figures of three animals (elephant, bull and lion) and on a few coins is shown a lankey bull.

From Nandner¹ in the Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh, a few coins of the Bhāgilā city-state have been found. Two square copper coins bearing the legend *hathadeva* have also been found there. They were issued by a ruler called Hastideva in 1st century B. C. Much more important are a few rectangular punch-marked copper coins of two rulers from that site. One of these bears the legend *raño Bhānumitasa* (of king Bhānumitra).

Another such coins is of Rāmabhadra, whose name is written as *Rāmabhadasa* (*rā* on some coins looks like *da*). These are new rulers of c. 2nd-1st cent. B. C. known from their coins.²

From Vidisha the following important coins have recently been acquired : One square copper coin giving the name of a new king Śivamitra of 1st cent. B. C. and three coins of Rāmagupta of the Gupta dynasty. On two of them *garuḍa* is shown in the human form. The third coin of the *garuḍadhavaja* type has the full Sanskrit legend *Śrī Rāmguptaḥ*.

From Pawaya (Padmāvati) in the Gwalior district, a unique coin of king Ravināga of the Nāga dynasty has been identified by me. In the centre the coin has the standing figure of Śiva with *jaṭājuṭa*.

At Mandsaur have been found three copper coins of the late Gupta period. One of these bears the name of Satyagupta, a new ruler. The other two coins bear the legend *Mahārāja Harigupta*.

1. I have identified this site with Nandinagara, which name occurs in several Sāñchī inscriptions, see Buhler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 96-115.

2. I am thankful to Prof. Shankar Tewari of Bhopal, who has kindly shown to me his collection of coins obtained from Nandur and Nander for my study.

Tripuri has yielded some important coins and sealings of the Bodhi rulers and also of kings having Sena ending names. The coins and sealings of five Bodhi kings have been published by me.¹ The Sena kings are Mahāsena, Sujyeshṭhasena and Sundarasena.²

From Tumain excavations a hoard of 589 silver coins has been obtained. These coins are of the Indo-Sassanian type with various symbols. Seven out of these are the coins of king Ajayadeva of the Chāhamāna dynasty (11th cent. A. D.).

One square copper coin (Reg. No. 244) from Tumain excavation deserves particular mention here. It is a punch-marked coin with elephant and other symbols on the obverse. It bears at the top the Brāhmī legend 'Siri Sātasa'. The stratified evidence assigns this coin in c. 1st cent. B. C.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 159-66, pl. x.

2. Coins of the last mentioned Sena king have recently been published by Dr. M. C. Chaubey, *JNSI*, XXXIX pp. 157-59; pl. X, 5-14.

SOME RECENTLY FOUND SILVER COINS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

Y. B. SINGH

Ancient Indian coins and inscriptions have a peculiarity of coming to light from time to time and the present paper is intended to attract the attention of scholars towards certain coins acquired by a private collector (S. K. Agrawal)¹ recently.

The lot acquired by Mr. Agrawal consists of some punch-marked coins, a few coins of the mediaeval and Mughal period and four silver coins of the Imperial Guptas which form the topic of the present discussion. Three of these, in very good condition, belong to the King-and-Queen type of Chandragupta I and the fourth to the Standard-type of Samudragupta.

My first reaction to these coins was that they were fake, as so far, very few silver coins of the two rulers noted above have come to light. Secondly, the coins of Chandragupta I are in very good condition and do not seem to have undergone much handling. The fourth coin, that of Samudragupta, however, seems to have been well-used, as the legend is indistinct and part of the coin is worn out. Thirdly, they could also be examples of mint-testing because of faint traces of gold in them. Hence my doubts in their genuineness.

However, certain factors led me to bring these coins to the notice of scholars. The coins had considerable putrefaction on them which was cleansed off under the direct supervision of O. P. Agrawal, Director of the Conservation Laboratory, now being set up at Lucknow. Secondly, these have come, or at least are said to have come from the Western parts of the country in a collection of punch-marked and Mughal coins. As far being products of mint-testing, since they are three in the number and there could be many more, the types needed notice.

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1. The coins under discussion are at present in the collection of Sri Skanda Knmara Agrawal & Co. Hewett Road, Lucknow, who has very kindly permitted me to examine them,

A short description of the two types would not be out of place. The King-and-Queen type of Chandragupta I conforms in shape and size to those described by Allan and Altekar with one notable deviation. On the obverse side, the King and Queen, both, are nimbate, the king is wearing tight-fitting coat and trousers and a head-dress more like a helmet, holding a standard in left hand and offering either a ring or a flower or some object to the Queen, standing, facing him, wearing tight-fitting clothes. The king wears ear-rings, armlets and possibly breast-plated armour while the queen wears ear-rings, necklace and bangles. On the reverse, a goddess, Lakshmī or Ambikā, is shown seated on a lion, wearing a *sārī* and an upper garment (*dukūla*) over her shoulders, bangles and necklace and holding a noose (*pāśa*) in right hand and cornucopiae in the left. Her feet rest on circular mat with beads thereon.

The legend on the obverse in the margin is rather indistinct but letters *ku*, *ma*, *ra* and *va* can be deciphered, obviously being *Śrī Kumāradevī* as on gold coins. The legend below the left arm of the king reads vertically *Chaiūdra* (with an *anusvāra* over *Cha*) and *ga* and *pa* separated by the standard. The legend on the reverse is more or less complete and can be read as *Licchhavayah*.

After comparing these coins with the plates in the *Catalogues* of Allan and Altekar, it was noticed that the coins are exactly similar to the one on plate III No. 1 of Allan's *Catalogue* of the British Museum Collection. The absence of the crescent between the heads of the king and the queen is noteworthy. All the coins are slightly out of flan specially on the reverse side. The most significant difference between them and the gold coins of the Bayana hoard described by Altekar is in the type of symbol in the right hand corner, which is of the type to be met with on the standard type coins of Samudragupta, No. 19 of variety A of Altekar's description,

The single coin of Samudragupta is clearly of the Standard type. On the obverse side, it shows the king standing, nimbate and in tight-fitting clothes, wearing a necklace and large earrings. The left hand holds the fillet-bound standard while with his right hand he is casting incense on a fire-altar. The vertical legend under the left hand is not clear, but letters *ma* and *da* can be identified, obviously being *Samudra*, as on gold coins.

The circular legend *samarasatavitata* etc., can also be partially deciphered. The reverse side has the nimbate figure of Lakshmi on throne who is wearing a *sārī* and has an upper garment which covers her arms. A pearl ornament around her head, earrings, necklace and armlets are to be noticed on her body. She holds a noose in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left while her feet rest on a indistinct mat. The two legs of the throne on the left side are discernible, the other side being indistinct. The usual legend *parākramah* can be indistinctly made out. It fully conforms with No. 12 of plate No. 1 in Allan's *Catalogue*.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to get the coins photographed to a desirable quality, but an enlarged line-drawing of the first type is herewith appended.¹ As for the line-drawing of the other, it was hardly pertinent, as it is too well known.

Gold coins of the two emperors and of the varieties mentioned above have long been noted and copper coins were also reported sometime back in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. To the best of my information no silver coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta² have been noticed so far. But the argument that such coins have not been found so far does not preclude the possibility of their having been issued at all. Another point of doubt is that these were not seen by me before the putrefaction was removed by Agrawal in the Conservation Laboratory and treated by some sort of preservatives. The point that strikes most in the case of the three coins of Chandragupta I is the difference in the symbol used and the absence of the crescent between the figures of the King and the Queen, which are to be met with in the Bayana hoard coins. On the other hand, these tally in details, symbol and the absence of the crescent with the one in the British Museum and described by Allan. In case these are genuine, they are products of the same mint and mould.

1. Thanks are due to Sri Gautam Tewari, Lecturer, Faculty of Fine Arts, Lucknow University for preparing the linedrawings of the coin.

2. [However, it may be mentioned that Silver Coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta have been noticed. A Silver Coins of Chandragupta—Kumardevi type has been published in *JNSI*, XXXVII, pts I-II, p. 83 ff. and Professor U. Thakur has published Vinā type of silver Coin of Samudragupta in his monograph entitled '*Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture*. O. P. S.]

As regards weight, the coins of Chandragupta weigh 4.200, 4.250 and 5 gms. respectively. That of Samudragupta weighs 4.000 gms. This is roughly one-fourth of the weight of the gold coins of the Standard Type of Samudragupta's coins. At present, it would be difficult to hazard any guess about this peculiarity, as normally the weight of silver coins of the Guptas are found lacking in uniformity, as noted by Allan. These are almost double the weight of Skandagupta's silver coins of 32 to 34 grains (roughly 2.1 gms.), which are based on the standard of the Western Kshatrapas.

HORSE-RIDER TYPE OF CHANDRAGUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE KALKI INCARNATION

MAHESHWAR P. JOSHI

Vishṇu's Kalki incarnation is an interesting conception. According to the literary texts Kalki would incarnate himself in the end of the *kaliyuga* to restore *dharma* by destroying unrighteous persons.¹ The main characteristic feature of the *kaliyuga*, as given in the *Mahābhārata*² and the *Purāṇas*,³ is that there would be the advent of power of the *mlechchhas*, the *dasyus*, and the irreligious persons.

Kalki's conception is undoubtedly very old, for as one of Vishṇu's incarnations he is mentioned in the *Sāttvata Samhitā* which is one of "the very oldest Samhitās" according to Schrader and "may be older even than the smaller lists found in later Samhitās and older even than the Mahābhārata list."⁴

Kosambi⁵ observes "...the Kalki episode has all the earmarks of an historical event disguised as a prophesy. We do know of a Kṛta or Kalki era which coincides approximately with the Vikrama era...." The event was important enough to give "some group of Brahmins cause for gratitude, sufficient to preserve and exalt the name of the hero." He takes Kalki as later than Pushyamitra Śuṅga and places him in the first century B. C. However, he further says "...closer identification of Kalki would lead to information about the time of the redaction and perhaps the place; the fact of a Brahmanical renaissance is clear." These comments of the

1. The *Kalki Purāṇa* gives a detailed account of the exploits of Kalki. See also the *Mahābhārata*, 3.188.89-93 (Critical ed.); *Matsya Purāṇa*, 47. 248-51; *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, 4.24.98; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 12.2.16-23.

2. *Mahābhārata*, 3.186.21-56; 3.188.12-88.

3. *Matsya P.* 47.243-263; *Vishṇu P.*, 4.24.98; *Vāyu P.*, ch. 32; etc.

4. Schrader, F. O., *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā*, p. 47.

5. Kosambi, D. D., "The Avatāra Syncretism and possible sources of the *Bhāgavadgītā*, in the *Jour. of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXIV-XXV, (N. S.), p. 121 ff.

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learned scholar are plausible but the probable data of Kalki proposed by him can hardly be accepted, mainly because during first century B. C. we do not come across any such personality in the entire Indian historical scene whom we can suggest as answering to the description of Kalki and, moreover, the *Bhāgavata* system at that time was still in the formative stage.¹

The iconography of Kalki is given in various texts² which may be summed up as follows: he should be shown as a mighty angry person riding a horse and having two or four arms with one or two or four of the following *āyudhas*, viz., sword, shield, bow, arrow, conch and wheel. In the sculptures he is invariably represented as a horse-rider and holding a sword or bow and arrow.

The iconographic description and sculptural representation of Kalki at once recalls to our mind the Horse-rider type of the Gupta coins, introduced for the first time by Chandragupta II.³ The obverse of these coins shows Chandragupta II riding a fully caparisoned horse with a bow in one of the hands, and in some coins (which show him riding towards proper left) a sword is also shown fastened to the girdle worn by him. The legend is *Paramabhāgavata mahārājādhirāja śrī Chandraguptaḥ*. Their reverse depicts Lakshmī and the legend reads *Ajita-vikramaḥ*, a *viruda* (title) of Chandragupta II. That the coins of the imperial Guptas were not merely part of their fiscal programme but also media of making their faith and multipotent character public follows from the fact that so far we have found nearly twentyone types of their coins (in gold) depicting various aspects of royal activities and the like.⁴

1. For details see Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, chs. X-XIV; Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Materials for Study of Early History of Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 1-118; Gonda, J., *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, ch. I; Banerjea, J. N., *Religion in Art and Archaeology*, chs. I-II; Jaiswal, S., *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, pp. 32-88 etc.
2. *Vishṇudharmottara* and *Vaikhānasāgama* as quoted by Shukla, D. N., *Vāstu Śāstra*, II, iv, p. 99; *Agni* p. 49.9.; *Rūpamaṇḍana*, 3.28.
3. Allan, J., *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv, pls IX 14-17 & X.
4. For different varieties of Gupta coins see *ibid*; Altekar, A. S., "Rare and Unique Coins from the Bayana Gupta Hoard" in the *JNSI*, X, pp. 95-118; Gupta, P. L., *Gupta Sāmrajya* (in *Hindi*) ch. I, dealing with sources. Cf. Majumdar in *The Classical Age*, pp. 21-22.

Evidences are not wanting to show that in ancient times it was the tendency of the kings to try to establish the identity of their respective persons with those of gods. Thus writing on the Sun-image of northern style an eminent scholar observes... "it is by no means impossible that the Kushāṇa kings, whose attachment to the cults of Fire (whether Magian or Indian) is well known, and who paid special honour to the Sun, may have set up and popularised a form of Sūrya image dressed in their own fashion."¹ Likewise, an interesting feature of the Mitra coins "is that often the reverse device refers to the issuer's name; e. g., the issues of Agnimitra exhibit a personification of fire (Agni) and those of Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra have solar emblems. Apparently the issuers of the coins were inclined to identify themselves with the deities indicated on the reverse of the coins. . ."² Could not the same line of thinking have been working in Chandragupta's mind? If it is so it is not surprising, for his father Samudragupta is called Dhanada-Varuna-Indra-and Antaka *samasya*,³ while Chandragupta's grandson Skandagupta claims *Lakṣmīḥ svayam yam varayānchakāra*.⁴ Chandragupta's own personality is by no means less exalted when in his Chakra-Vikrama type of coins⁵ we see him receiving three round objects from Viṣṇu which have been identified as representing either three royal powers,⁶ namely, *Prabhuśakti*, *Mantraśakti* and *Utsāhaśakti*, or three *lokas*,⁷ namely, *Devaloka*, *Mṛityuloka* and *Nāgaloka*.⁸ In the light of these informations identity between Chandragupta II and Kalki would not be far from probable. In its support we may further add that Chandragupta II possessed almost all those qualities which are ascribed to Kalki. He was a mighty person, a staunch *Bhāgavata*, an upholder of *dharma* and above all the repeller of the Śakas (i. e., (*mlechchhas*) as is evident by the famous Rāmagupta-Chandragupta-Dhruvasvāminī episode; the central theme of a now lost drama-the *Devī-Chandraguptam* of Viśakha-

1. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 66.

2. Sircar, D. C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 172.

3. The Allahabad Pillar Ins., Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Indic.*, III, pp. 1 ff.

4. The Junagarah Ins. of Skandagupta, *ibid*, pp. 57 ff.

5. Altekar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 104.

6. Sivaramamurti, "Chakravikram Type" in the *JNSI* XIII, p. 182. He identifies the divine figure as Chakrapurusha.

7. Harihar Trivedi, "The Chakravikram coin of Chandragupta II", *ibid*, XVII, pp. 109-109.

8. Rai, G. C., "A New Chakravikrama of Chandragupta II" *ibid*, XXII, p. 263.

datta, references¹ to which are also to be found in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, the *Nāṭya-darpaṇa* of Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, the *Abhinavabhāratī* of Abhinavagupta, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, the *Āyurveda-dīpikā-ṭīkā* of Chakrapānidatta, Beruni's *Tehkīk-ul-Hinda* and Abul Hasan Ali's *Majamal-ut-tavārikha* and the *Saṅjana Copper Plate* (Śaka 795) of Amoghavarsha and the *Khambhāta* (Śaka 852) and the *Śaṅgli* (Śaka 855) *Copper Plates* of Govinda IV. It is told as to how Chandragupta in the garb of Devī Dhruvasvāminī (his brother Rāmagupta's queen) went to the camp of a Śaka lord and assassinated him; and thereby earned for himself the Gupta-crown, queen Dhruvasvāminī and possibly the epithet *Śakāri*. However, it is not the *Devī-Chandraguptam* but the *Mudrārākshasa* of the same author that in its *Bharatavākya* allegorically describes him as the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu saving the Rāja-mūrti (?) from the atrocities of the *mlechchhas*.² Chandragupta's victory over the Śakas (Western Kshatrapas) has also proved by the presence of his silver coins in Gujrat and the Kathiawar Peninsula which were "issued in imitation of the Śaka coins."³ The epigraphic records belonging to his reign, specially the second *Udaigiri Cove Inscription*⁴ and the *Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription*⁵ also bear testimony of Chandragupta's successful military career, and thus lend a remarkable support to our suggestion. In this connection we must not lose sight of the fact that by the time of the Guptas the political thinkers had already started advocating the divine status of the king.⁶

1. For a detailed account see *Bhoja's Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*, ed. by Raghavan V., pp. 863-882; Dikshitar, *Gupta Polity*, pp. 44 ff.; Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, p. 18 and f. n.; Gupta, P. L. *Op. Cit.* pp. 123 ff.

2. Dikshitar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 49-50.

3. Majumdar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

4. Fleet, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 34 ff.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 141 ff.

6. *Bālapi nāvamantavyo manushya iti bhūmipah |*
Mahatī devatāḥ = yeshā nararūpeṇa tiṣṭhātī ||

Manusmṛiti, VII. 8.

THE MINTS OF SAWAI JAIPUR

YADUENDRA SAHAI

(Pls. XI & XII)

The coins of Jaipur, celebrated throughout India for their purity, were first minted in the area east of the massive Samrāt Yantra of the Jantar Mantar situated in the huge north eastern courtyard of the City Palace complex.¹ This *taksāl* (mint) was established during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh II and consisted of two rooms adjacent to the eastern Shasthamsa Yantra which also forms the base for the eastern dial of the Samrāt Yantra.² The structure has since vanished but traces of it were noticed as late as the first quarter of the present century and are out-lined in the "Plan of Observatory" published in "Notes on Jaipur" edited by H. L. Showers, 1916. The mint and the area proved inadequate for the growing State of Jaipur and during one of Sawai Jai Singh's successors'

1. The above information is based upon written evidence won from a recently noticed map (Map No. 23) preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, City Palace, Jaipur. This map was exposed for its first public viewing early this year in the special exhibition "Sawai Jai Singh and His City" held at the Museum. Shri Damodar Tatiwal in his article "Purātatva ke ādhār : Jaipur ke Sikke" in "*Jaipur Darshan* (1978)" page 140 is misinformed as he states that this map is preserved in the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
2. All the authors e. g. C. P. Singhal, "*Mint-Towns of the Mughal Emperors in India* 1953"; W. W. Webb "*Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*, 1893"; Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal "*Talks on coins in Jaipur Museum*," 1946 and R. B. Whitehead "*Catalogue of the Coin in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*" (1914) etc. upto now have been firm in the belief that there was no mint town at Amber and no coins had been minted at Jaipur during Maharaja Sawai Sai Singh II's time and the first coin minted at Sawai Jaipur which is traceable (physically) to date actually dates to Sawai Iswari Singh's period A. H. 1155 i. e. A. D. 1743. But there always has been a strong tradition in support of coins having been minted at Amber and at Jaipur by Sawai Jai Singh II. To date, however, no such coins have come to light. Now it can be established that least a Taksal did exist in Sawai Jaipur during the times of Sawai Jai Singh II because (Map No. 23) can be dated to the period of construction of the Jantar Mantar at Jaipur (1718 to 1734) because it itself is a "progress report map and shows areas like the batti, turfan, Kahaned and bawari etc. which clearly indicate that work was in progress.

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reign the mint was shifted to a small building complex, down hill, at the end of the Sireh Deorhi Bazar, on the corner of the road leading to Amber. This area is still known as *Chāndī Kī Taksāl* though coins are no longer minted here.

The Taksal was not merely the state mint office from where the coinage was minted circulated and regulated, it served at least from the nineteenth century onwards as the state office that regulated, manufactured and distributed the local standard weights and yards, besides the issue of silver and gold bars for the local industries including the lace and gold stud work. Thus, only Jharshahi Gold Mohars, Jharshahi silver rupiya and Jharshahi small silver and copper coins were not manufactured in the *Taksal* (State Mint). The Jaipur *seer* (which weighed as 86 Jharshahi rupiyas or kaldar rupiyas) and the Jaipuri *gaz* (yard, which incidently measured $36\frac{1}{2}$ imperial inches) were also prepared for local distribution. In addition, standard foreign silver bars were recut into smaller bars of about seventy rupees in weight and stamped with the seal of the mint. These were then sold to the manufacturers of the silver lace and threads.

From the beginning a sub-branch of Revenue Department (*Sigha Mal*), the *Taksāl* worked under the direct supervision of a *Darogha* who was assisted by a *Nayab*. The establishment had a *chowksi*, two *alkars* (clerks) a silver *sambhiar*, a *vakil* and a *tulara*. The workshop had a few *mohrkar*, whose job was to stamp the coins, blacksmiths, *tateras*, *soonars*, engravers, helpers, *Meena chowkidars*, *Chowksi gurjaz* (the spies) and the cooks. The last class was required to provide the vituals to all the labour, for it was an established procedure that while a batch of coins were in the process of the mint, no one was allowed to enter or exist the premises.

Another branch of the Revenue Department known as the *Tarkashi* was situated in the *Kapatdwara* and its primary function was to make surprise checks on the produce of the Taksal. To this department was also given the assiduous task of putting the hall mark of purity on all manufactured items of gold and silver in the state including the gold and silver threads. It also maintained within its vaults the standard weights and yards. The *Darogha* of this department was directly responsible to the Revenue Minister and was quite independent of that of the *Taksāl*, but his

function was a complementary to that of the *Darogha* of the *Taksāl* and hence it is noticed here.

From eye-witness accounts and after discussions with old citizens it is known that at the turn of the century gold, silver and copper coins used to be minted here in the following manner. The copper came from the mines at Khetri, but the gold and silver, were obtained in the shape of bars or coins, usually Chinese, French or South African, but quite often English. These were heated in the midst of small piles of fuel, six or seven times. The molten copper, at least, was purified by means of a slag. Then the mass was hammered and purified, if necessary, by dissolving in acids.¹

After purification, the metal in molten state was run into rude moulds like the long channel spoons called *dhali*. The flat bars thus obtained were cut into squares by means of hammer and chisels. The crude angles of these were next chipped off by means of *kattias*. The crude coin was then beaten and filed down to the proper shape and weight by means of *karotis* and *motirati*. Finer shaping was done by mild abrasives like *bari-krati* and *khrunt*. This process could take as long as ten to fifteen days.

This was followed by the stamping which was done by hand with the help of a *dabby-yantra*. The engraver made the die with the utmost care and with his artistic hands carved out the reverse of the script and the sprig. If necessary the stamping could be accomplished in a split second, but since there was no hurry, great care was taken and the process was purposely slowed down for artistic and uniformity considerations.

The dies were made on the spot and each was capable of stamping at least 50,000 or more silver/gold blanks, before it was rendered unserviceable and destroyed in the presence of the *Darogha*. The men employed in the the mint were forced to stay in the premises while one batch of coins were being manufactured.

According to contemporary sources² in the nineteenth century there was a system in Jaipur (as also in other Rajput states like Kotah) that the

1. The process is quite similar to the one very well known for centuries and described in the *Ain-i-Akbari* with some local modifications.

2. Like Major J. Caulfield (1923) as quoted by James Prinsep (1830) and others.

currency compulsorily was made to suffer a depreciation of one percent on the third year after its issue and continued at the rate during the reign of the ruler. On the accession of a successor, it suffered a further annual fractional depreciation, which helped in the long run to bring back the old coins to the Mint for recoinage. This was more strictly adhered to in the the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and this accounts for the extreme paucity of the vintage Jaipur coins. Hoarding of old coins was thus minimized and there was a voluntary surrender of non current currencies to the sarafs, who made use of these coins to get back the metal and reuse either in the various trades or resold it to the mint.

W. S. Caine in his *Picturesque India* (1890) on page 112 writes : "If a visitor wishes a modest specimen of this beautiful Jaipur enamel, he cannot do better than buy a ring. They are made of pure gold, from Mohurs, in pretty designs, such as twisted snakes, or clasped hands, consisting from 20 to 40 rupees or double the amount if precious stones have been used."

The copper coins usually have the raised rim like a *thal* used for kneading dough in the common household.

The Jaipur coins can always be distinguished by the sign of the Jhar, branch or sprig of the Kachnar, which appears on the reverse of the coin. The Kachnar was the holy symbol of Lord Rāma. His son, Kush, adopted the symbol for his standard—a Kachnar sprig on a white ground. His descendents, who have come to be known as Kacchawas, kept up the tradition. The ruling house of Amber belongs to the Kacchawa clan; their standard right up to Raja Man Singh of Amber was the Kachnar on white ground. Raja Man adopted the *Pachrangs* as his standard, but his successors from Sawai Madho Singh I (1750) onwards did not forget the old symbol, the Kachnar Jhar branch or sprig and adopted it on their coins.

The early Jaipur coins bore the name of Moghul Emperor on the obverse, but after the treaty with the British, this was replaced by the name of the ruler of England.

A typical later Jaipur coin was still inscribed in persian. The inscription of a 1875 coin when translated into English reads thus :

Obverse

Coined at Sawai Jaipure in the year 1875, in the reign of her Majesty the Queen of England Victoria.

Reverse

In the 42nd year of the august and glorious accession (sprig) of His Highness Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh.

In 1875, the gold mohar weighed 167.8 grains. The touch, or pure gold in 100 parts, was 100. It was absolutely pure.

The *rupiya* weighed 175 grains, in 1875 the silver was alloyed with $4\frac{1}{2}$ grains of Troy of copper, the later being added after assay.

Now although the Jharshahi *rupiya* weighed 8 grains less than the British India Rupee it was worth more, and bore a premium of $6\frac{1}{2}\%$ in 1875. The rate of exchange, however, fluctuated either way.

In the following pages I give some appendices which are self explanatory and furnish interesting informations.

JAIPUR STATE—DETAILED BUDGET

*for the year Samvat 1987**(1st. September, 1930 to 31st August 1931)*

MINT (8)

A—MINT OFFICE

	Number			Particulars	Actuals for 1985	Estimate for 1986	Estimate for 1987
	Sambat 1985	Sambat 1986	Sambat 1987				
Officers ...	2	2	2	Darogha—1 (66); Nayab—1 (15)	786	972	972
Establishment	6	6	7	Chowksi—1 (25); Clerks—2 (25)	1,418/8	1,410	1,650
				Sambhiar Silver-1 (20); Moharkun-1 (20)*Moharir-1 (15); Tulara-1 (7/8)			
Menials	15	37	36	Blacksmith—1 (15); Chowksigujaz-1 (9); 1 (C); Meenas 5 (7); Darabs-21 (6); ...	1,148/5	2,916	2,676
				Other Menials-2 (4/8); 2 (1), Chowkidars-2 (9); Sweeper-1 (3) ...			
Contingencies			...	(a) Fixed Ordinary 113/8; Festivals, etc., 353/10, uniforms B.G.31/8. ...	479/3/3	482/9/6	496/10/6
				(b) Electric light and fans	10/10	100	100
Miscellaneous	...	...		For Unforeseen Expenditure ...	186/116	200	200
				*Non-pensionable			
				Rounding ...	..	+19/6/6	+5/5/6
				Total ...	4,028/11/9	6,100	6,100

REPORT
ON THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
JAIPUR STATE

For 1922-23, 1923-24, 1924-25 and 1925-26.

PART I—REPORT
PART II—STATEMENTS

(Seal)

ALLAHABAD :
THE POINEER PRESS

1927

272. In the State Mint are coined Gold Mohars, Jharshahi rupees and small silver and copper coins : standard weights in wrought iron with the seal of the Mint on them and Standard Yard measures are also prepared. In addition, silver bars are cut into small bars about 70 rupees in weight and bearing the seal of the Mint. These are sent for manufacture into fine thread and silver lace.

Reproductions both obverse and reverse of existing State coinage of gold, silver and copper are given below :—

A—GOLD AND SILVER COINS.



Obverse.



Reverse.

B.—COPPER COINS.



For some years past, the minting of silver and copper coins has been practically discontinued; only Gold Mohars are now coined. A Gold Mohar contains $10\frac{1}{2}$ Mashas pure gold of 100 touch. Any person tendering gold at the Mint can have it converted into Gold Mohars on payment of approximately 0-8-0 per coin.

The receipts and expenditure of the Mint during the last three years were as follows :—

Sambat				Receipts.	Expenditure.
				Rs.	Rs.
1980	...	...	...	18,998	4,305
1981	...	...	...	52,640	3,976
1982	...	...	...	21,025	3,594

The present Mint building is unsuited for the purpose, a new building near the Treasury is required. All minting is done by hand and consequently the coins minted are rough and not highly finished.

The following gives the outturn of the State Mint during the last three years :

Gold Mohars	308,649	
Jharshahi coin	82,595	
Gold and Silver Test Bars	12,444 weighing	Rs. 8,71,080.
Iron weights	24,279	„ Mds. 650-19-8.
Iron Yards	386	

273. It is one of the oldest institutions in the State. Its chief function is to place the Hall Mark of purity and genuineness on all manufacture of gold and silver thread and lace within the State. Tarkashi

iii

APPENDIX XLIV

Jaipur Coins Assayed and Valued at the Mint of the Hyderabad State

Regnal Year of H. H. the Maharaja Sir Sawai Madho Singhji.	Weight Grammes	Weight Grains	Touch per 1000	Pure Silver	Alloy	100 O. S. coin Jaipur	100 B.G. Coin Jaipur
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9 (1) ...	11.351	175.157	966.	169.376	5.781	83.91	97.62
9 (2) ...	11.370	175.450	969.0	170.011	5.439	83.00	97.05
10 ...	11.409	176.050	930.6	163.726	12.324	86.20	100.16
12 ...	11.241	173.479	963.0	167.060	6.439	84.50	98.70
13 ...	11.316	174.618	967.3	168.855	5.763	83.50	97.70
15 (1) ...	11.364	175.378	970.6	170.112	5.61	82.96	97.00
15 (2) ...	11.376	175.558	969.0	170.116	.442	82.96	97.00
17 ..	11.319	174.780	970.1	169.537	5.234	83.25	97.40
24 ...	11.287	171.172	953.2	165.986	8.186	85.00	99.40
30 ...	11.011	169.921	970.0	164.123	50.88	85.62	100.11

Notes :

(a) 1 Gram—15.432 Grains.

(b) B. G. Re. Weight 180 Grains, touch, 916.6.

(c) O. S. Re. Weight 172.5 grains, touch 818.18.

APPENDIX XLV

Statement showing the number of Jharshahi Rupees coined during the past 30 years

No.	Sambat year	Rupees		No	Sambat year	Rupees	
		Rs.	a. p.			Rs.	a. p.
1	1950	13,97,175	0 0	16	1965	2,38,400	0 0
2	1951	16,49,179	0 0	17	1966	127	0 0
3	1952	19,34,789	0 0	18	1967	1,509	0 0
4	1953	17,64,285	0 0	19	1968	99,683	12 0
5	1954	6,48,823	0 0	20	1969	11,045	10 0
6	1955	71,000	0 0	21	1970	2,906	12 0
7	1956	1,500	0 0	22	1971	347	2 0
8	1957	50	0 0	23	1972	258	8 0
9	1958	7,952	0 0	24	1973	68,646	0 0
10	1959	1,04,349	0 0	25	1974	50	0 0
11	1960	76,861	0 0	26	1975	72,440	0 0
12	1961	47,128	0 0	27	1976	11,400	0 0
13	1962	91,728	0 0	28	1977	18,150	0 0
14	1963	94,578	0 0	29	1978	1,72,634	4 0
15	1964	46,023	0 0	30	1979	6,11,273	0 0
					Total	92,44,300	0 0

(iii)
APPENDIX XLVI.

*Statement showing Rates of Exchange between Jharshahi and Kaldar from 1897
to 1926 (30 years.)*

Year.						Amount of Jharshahi coin equal to 100 Kaldar.		
						Rs.	a.	p.
1897	...	...	...	...	...	96	3	6
1898	...	...	...	...	...	96	10	8
1899	...	...	...	...	...	99	2	0
1900	...	...	...	...	...	124	11	4
1901	...	...	...	...	...	118	5	8
1902	...	...	...	...	...	121	1	4
1903	...	...	...	...	...	110	12	5
1904	...	...	...	...	...	102	8	2
1905	...	...	...	...	...	104	7	9
1906	...	...	...	...	...	112	6	0
1907	...	...	...	...	...	104	0	7
1908	...	...	...	...	...	102	2	5
1909	...	...	...	...	...	100	8	11½
1910	...	...	...	...	...	98	1	6
1911	...	...	...	...	...	96	9	5½
1912	...	...	...	...	...	96	2	6½
1913	...	...	...	...	...	96	5	5
1914	...	...	...	...	...	96	11	1½
1915	...	...	...	...	...	97	5	9
1916	...	...	...	...	...	98	5	4
1917	...	...	...	...	...	95	13	7
1918	...	...	...	...	...	93	4	2
1919	...	...	...	...	...	89	5	2
1920	...	...	...	...	...	85	8	3
1921	...	...	...	...	...	84	8	11
1922	...	...	...	...	...	89	5	6
1923	...	...	...	...	...	92	7	2½
1924	...	...	...	...	...	93	2	9
1925	...	...	...	...	...	94	14	0
1926	...	...	...	...	...	94	13	9

Average calculated on
30 years Rs. 99-8-6.

VIJAYANAGAR COINS IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM : A REAPPRAISAL

A. SUBRAMANIAN

Vijayanagar Empire, as we know, was founded to act as a buffer against the southward incursions of the Muslim power and to preserve the great *Sanatana Dharma*. It was in total a symbol of Hindu solidarity.

The archaeological remains of that mighty empire include a rich harvest of coins notable for their dexterity and variety. Very few Catalogues have so far been published on the Vijayanagar Coins.¹

The Government Museum at Madras has got its own share of Vijayanagar coins. A detailed and systematic account of such coins was a long-felt desire. The Directorate of that museum has come out with a catalogue of Vijayanagar coins in its custody.²

An attempt is made in this paper to analyse these coins at Madras.

The Madras Catalogue is divided into three parts viz. (i) Historical Introduction,³ (ii) List of Coins in tabular form⁴ and (iii) Plates illustrating selected coins.⁵

This collection consists of 646 coins issued from the days of Harihara I (A. D. 1336-57) right upto the time of Sri Ranga Raya III (1642-72).⁶

Two hundred and eighty one coins are of gold while the rest are copper coins.

The issues are mostly spherical or circular. Fifty nine coins have a diameter of less than one cm. whereas only three have a width of more than two cms.⁷

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1. Notable among them is *A Catalogue of the Vijayanagar Coins of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 6), Hyderabad, 1962.
 2. Issued as the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* (New Series-General Section), Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1977.
 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-24.
 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-62.
 5. There are four plates at the end of the Catalogue.
 6. For details see the Table appended to the paper.
 7. More than 470 coins have diameter between 1 and 1.5 cms. while 111 coins have a width ranging between 1.5 and 2 cms.

There is much variation in the weight of these coins too. One specimen¹ assignable to the period of Sangama Harihara I weighs 1.7 grains. On the other hand a copper coin² of the time of Tuluva Krishna-devaraya has a thickness of more than 0.5 cm. and weighs 253 grains.

The Catalogue contains some glaring printing mistakes especially in applying decimal signs in the tabular list of coins. At times details are not complete.³

Salient points about these coins are discussed in the succeeding pages.

First six coins in the Catalogue are of the time of Harihara I (1336-57). All are of gold, weigh 51 or 52 grains and depict the deity Hanuman on the obverse and a Kannada legend reading "*Śrī Vīra Harihara*" in two or three lines on the reverse.

Next four coins are assignable to Bhukka I (1344-77). They measure less than 1.5 cms. in width, are of gold, and weigh 51 to 54 grains. Hanuman is represented here too on the obverse. The three-line legend in Kannada on the reverse reads "*Śrī Vīra Bhukkarāya*".

Thirty coins issued by Harihara II (1377-1404) are then described. Their weight varies between 1.7 and 52 grains. Twenty-seven coins of this king are of gold⁴ and the remainder copper.⁵ These circular coins have a width between 0.7 and 1.53 cms. Deities like Lakshmīnarasimha, Sarasvatī-Brahmā and Umāmaheśvara are engraved on the obverse while the reverse has a Kannada Legend "*Śrī Pratāpa Harihara*", engraved in three lines.

The succeeding 163 coins are of the days of Devaraya I (1406-26). A bulk of them are of copper.⁶ Their weight ranges from 20 to 83 grains and 0.9 to 1.9 cms. is their width-range. The obverses of these coins depict the cow, the sacred bull, Lakshmīnarasimha or Umāmaheś-

1. Serial Number 12 at p. 17.

2. S. No. 478 at p. 52.

3. For instance the weight of S. No. 247 at p. 40 is not given.

4. S. Nos. 11 to 18, 22 to 40.

5. S. Nos. 19 to 21.

6. S. Nos. 60 to 109, 111 to 124 and 126 to 203 are of copper while S. Nos. 41 to 59, 110 and 125 are gold coins.

vara. Two kinds of legend in Kannada “*Śrī Nīlakanṭha*” or “*Śrī Pratāpa Devarāya*” is engraved in three lines on the reverse.

Gold coins are rare in the issues of Devarāya II (1427-46) whose 117 coins are then described in the Catalogue.¹ Their weight ranges between 12.5 and 84.3 grains, and in width they range from 0.7 to 2.6 cms. These issues are discussed under ten standard types. Elephant, King fighting with a javeline, Śiva-Pārvatī, Sun and Moon, and Sword are depicted on the obverse. The three line legend “*Śrī Pratāpa Devarāya*” or “*Rāja Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*” is engraved on the reverse in Kannada or Nāgarī characters.

Coins issued by the Sangama dynasty end with this.

Two gold coins,² each weighing 51 grains and 1.14 cms. in width, of Tuluva Vīra Narasimha (1505-09) are then described. Man-lion god is depicted seated on the obverse side. The three-line Kannada legend “*Śrī Pratāpa Vīra Narasimha*” is engraved on the reverse.

By far the best known ruler of the Vijayanagar empire is Krishna-devarāya (1509-29). Maximum number of coins, viz. 179 in this Catalogue belong to this ruler. Gold coins³ far outnumber the copper⁴ ones, a probable pointer to the economic prosperity of the empire. These coins range in weight between 20 and 253 grains. Nearly eighty per cent of them have a width of 1 to 1.5 cms. range. Two coins⁵ have a diameter of more than 2.0 cms. The issues have been classified into three major types. The obverse side depicts Balakrishṇa, with the conch and the Chakra, Garuḍa, Pārvatī, Śiva, Venkateśa or Viṣṇu. The Nāgarī legend “*Śrī Pratāpa Krishṇa Rāya*” is engraved on the reverse.

Next eighteen coins are assignable to Achyutarāya (1529-42). Only two⁶ of them are of copper. Their weights show much variation between 25.5 and 251.2 grains. The width-range of 1 to 1.5 cms. still predominates viz. in sixteen of his coins. The obverse side of these issues depict

1. S. Nos. 313 to 320. Copper coins of this ruler are numbered as 204 to 312.

2. S. Nos. 321 and 322 at p. 44.

3. S. Nos. 323 to 384, 426 to 443, 447 to 468 and 485 to 501 (104 coins) are of gold while S. Nos. 385 to 425, 444 to 446 and 469 to 484 (75 coins) are made of copper.

4. S. Nos. 454 and 457 at p. 51.

5. S. Nos. 506 and 507 at p. 53.

the mythological double headed eagle (*Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*) while the three-line legend “*Śrī Pratāpachyuta Rāya*” is engraved on the reverse.

The religious catholicity of Sadasiva Raya (1542-76) is well-attested by issuing coins with both Lakshmīnārāyaṇa and Umāmaheśvara types, twenty-six of which are then described in this Catalogue. All of them are of gold.¹ In weight they vary between 12 and 52.7 grains and all except six are in the popular width-range of 1 to 1.5 cms. The three-line Nāgarī legend on the reverse reads “*Śrī Pratāpa Sadāśivarāya.*”

Coins of the Tuluva dynasty end with this. The Madras Catalogue follows the usual course in the sense that no coin of Saluva dynasty is included in it.

The last phase of Hindu solidarity of Vijayanagar style was witnessed during the rule of Aravidu dynasty. It was a period of confusion and complexities.

The reign of Tirumala Raya (1571-74) was short-lived. Fourteen coins of his period are included. Nine are of gold.² Their weight varies between 16.85 and 67.94 grains. In width seven issues come within the standard 1 to 1.5 cms. range. His coins are of three types Boar, conch and discus, and Śrī Rāma with Sītā seated to his left and Lakshmaṇa standing with folded hands. The Nāgarī legend on the reverse reads “*Śrī Tirumala Rāyalu*”.

Next 51 coins are assignable to Venkatapatirāya II (1633-41). Copper issues are 29 in number.³ His coins vary in weight between 17.62 and 83.95 grains. Only ten coins have a diameter of less than one cm. Lord Venkateśvara or Hanuman is represented on the obverse while the legend “*Śrī Venkaṭa rāya*” is engraved on the other side.

The Catalogue ends in Gold : Thirty six gold coins⁴ of Sri Ranga Raya (1642-72) are described in the end. Thirty four of them follow the standard width-range of 1 to 1.5 cms. Their weights vary between 25.6 and 52.8 grains. All the coins of this ruler depict Lord Venkateśvara within an arch on the one side and the Nāgarī legend “*Śrī Venkaṭeśvarāya Namaḥ*” on the reverse.

1. S. Nos. 519 A to 544 at pp. 55-56.

2. S. Nos. 550 to 558. Others are of copper.

3. S. Nos. 559 to 587. Others are gold coins.

4. S. Nos. 610 to 645 at pp. 60-62.

Discussion

A critical analysis of the 646 coins described in the Madras Museum Catalogue throws flood of light on the financial structure and economic conditions of the mighty Vijayanagar empire.

The editor of this Catalogue has not given any information as regards the sources from which these coins were acquired. Presumably most of them were collected by the successive Curators for Numismatics in the Museum over the times. Secondly the illustrations of coins are too small to appreciate either the design or details of these coins. The scale of reduction, if any, is not indicated in the Plates. Even if they are actual sizes we feel that it would have been better if enlarged sizes were also shown below as in the case of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Catalogue.¹

A casual glance at the list of coins gives some interesting informations. Only copper and gold are the metals used. Copper coins were more in use during the reigns of Devaraya I, Devaraya II and Venkatapatiraya II. Irrespective of the metal used 473 coins out of the total of 646 come within the standard diameter range of 1 to 1.5 cms.

No coin of the Saluva dynasty is known; neither is there an issue in silver.²

The lowest denomination of the coins of this empire was a copper piece which was equal to 1/360 of a Gold Varaha. A Varaha normally weighs 52 grains.

Then comes the purchasing power of these issues. Dr. N. Ramesan hazards a guess³ that the present day prices of commodities are about sixty times those of the days of Krishnadevaraya. Possibly more and there is no wonder in it !

Mints were owned by the state as well as private parties. It is interesting to note that even subordinate chiefs were permitted to coin money in their names.

1. See Note 1 above. Plates VII to XX after p. 156.

2. The only silver coin of this empire reported so far is a Tara of the time of Pratāpa devarāya. Dr. E. Hultzsch speaks of it in the *Indian Antiquary*, XXV, p. 318.

3. See Note 1 above. Page 50 of *Ibid.*

They Madras Collection offers more variety and much potentiality than those in Andhra Pradesh Government Museum at Hyderabad.¹ For instance the Madras Catalogue has more coins of the Aravidu dynasty and more types in certain periods. The editor has lost a golden chance to glean many interesting informations from them.

A lion's share of the total revenue receipts of the Vijayanagar empire was brought by these coins. All the professional ventures except agriculture resulted in taxes in money to the state exchequer. The pasture and forests were levied for flocks of goats and sheep. Industrial taxes² was a vital source of revenue. Customs and tolls, tax on import and export, professional taxes³ and social taxes³ netted the much needed revenue to the state.

The power of collecting these multifarious taxes was given to a band of reputed contractors who dealt with the tax payers on the one hand and the finance department of the empire on the other. This process of collecting taxes was in a way made easier when members of a definite profession form a guild of their own and deroute their taxes to the state through them. Merchant guilds played an important role in this respect. All these complexities were faced with a uniform and well-defined system of coinage in the Vijayanagar empire.

Conclusion

The foregoing account brings to the limelight the importance of coins included in the Madras Museum Catalogue in the numismatic history of the Vijayanagar empire. It is earnestly hoped that future catalogues- a seperate series is necessary to exhaust all the coins at the Madras Government Museum- will not have the defects noted in the body of this paper.

Finally this writer would like the students of Vijayanagar history to enquire in their future researches the following and other connected issues :

- (a) Why silver coins are very rare ?
- (b) Why rulers of Saluva dynasty abstained from issuing their own coins ?
- (c) Why Portrait coins were not issued by the Vijayanagar rulers ?

1. Taxes on weavers, for combing cotton, on potters are known from various sources.
2. For instance taxes on barbers, washermen, goldsmiths, and the hunters.
3. Examples are Marriage fee, Taxes on house-sites, courtyards or even verandahs.

ANNEXURE A

PROVISIONAL LIST OF SYMBOLS

1. Bālakrishṇa
2. Brahmā
3. Bull (Vṛishabha) often in couchant form
4. Chakra
5. Elephant
6. Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa
7. Garuḍa in different poses
8. Goddesses
9. Hanumān in profile
10. King with folded hands or fighting
11. Lakshmī
12. Lakshmīnarasimha
13. Lakshmīnārāyaṇa
14. Lion (Narasimha too)
15. Pārvatī
16. Śaṅkha
17. Sarasvatī
18. Siva
19. Sri Rāma
20. Sword
21. Umāmaheśvara
22. Varāha
23. Venkaṭeśvara
24. Viṣṇu (*Sthānaka* as at Tirupati)

ANNEXURE B

RULER-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SYMBOLS

Note : Numerals at the end of each entry refer to Serial Numbers in Annexure A above.

(i) *The Sangama Dynasty*

1. Harihara-I : 7 and 9.
2. Bukka-I : 9.
3. Harihara-II : 2 with 17, 3, 13 and 21.
4. Devaraya-I : 3, 13, and 21.
5. Devaraya-II : 5.

(Coins of Bukka-II, Ramchandradeva, Vijayaraya I and II and Mallikarjuna are not found in the Madras Catalogue).

(ii) *The Tuluva Dynasty*

1. Vira Narasimha : 15.
2. Krishnadevaraya : 1, 37, 15, with 18 and 20.
3. Achyutaraya : 6.
4. Sadasivaraya : 7 and 13.

(iii) *The Aravidu Dynasty*

1. Tirumalaraya : 3, 4, with 15, 5, 7, Combinations of 10-11 & 24, 19 and 22.
2. Venkatapati Devaraya-II : 7, 9 with 23.
3. Sri Ranga Raya-III : 23.

(Coins of Sri Ranga Raya-I & II and Devaraya-III are not found in the Madras Catalogue).

TABLE
Vijayanagar Coins in the Madras Government Museum

S.No.	Name of the King	Catalogue Reference			Total Coins	Metal		Weight		Diameter		Range	
		S. N.	Pages	Plates		Gold	Copper	Minm.	Max.	1	1.5	2.0	2.5
1.	Harihara-I (1336-1357)	1-6	26	I : 1-2	6	6	—	51	52	—	6	—	—
2.	Bukka-I (1344-1377)	7-10	27	I : 3	4	4	—	51	44	—	4	—	—
3.	Harihara-II (1377-1404)	11-40	27-29	I : 4-8	30	27	3	1.7	52	17	12	1	—
4.	Devaraiya-I (1406-1422)	41-203	33-38	II : 1-4	163	21	142	19.8	83.4	7	113	43	—
5.	Devaraya-II (1422-1446)	204-320	38-44	II : 5-8	117	8	109	12.5	84.3	7	74	35	1
6.	Viranarasimha (1505-1509)	321-422	44	Nil	2	2	—	51	51.5	—	2	—	—
7.	Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529)	323-501	44-53	III : 1-8	179	104	75	20	353	8	157	12	2
8.	Achyutaraya (1529-1542)	502-519	53-54	IV : 3-4	18	16	2	25.5	251.2	1	16	1	—
9.	Sadasivaraya (1571-1574)	519A-544	55-56	IV : 1-2	26	26	—	12	52.7	4	20	2	—
10.	Tirumalaraya (1571-1574)	545-558	56-57	IV : 5-6	14	9	5	16.85	67.94	3	7	4	—
11.	Venkatapati-II (1633-1641)	559-609	57-60	Nil	51	22	29	17.02	63.95	10	28	13	—
12.	Sriranga-III (1642-1672)	610-645	60-62	Nil	36	36	—	25.6	52.8	2	34	—	—
					Total :	646	281	365	59	473	111	3	

Note : (a) Dates are in A. D. (b) Weights are in Grains (c) Diameters are in cms.

SMALLER DENOMINATIONS OF FOUR MARATHA RUPEES

A. S. KELKAR, & G. H. KHARE

(Pl. IX. 1-3)

1. The credit of the acquisition of the coins noted below goes to A. S. Kelkar, a co-author of this article. We wish to describe these coins below.

2. Among the coins of the Peshwas and their Sardars there is one very rare and important silver rupee. By now only four specimens of this rupee have come to light. One is in the coin-cabinet of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Pune, the other should be in the coin-cabinet of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pune, the third is in the coin-cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bombay and the fourth was with my friend the late S. A. Jogalekar of Pune. The first has been described and reproduced in the Marathi publication 'Maṇḍalā-tīla Nāṇī' (coins in the B. I. S. Mandala cabinet), compiled by Prof. G. H. Khare and published by the B. I. S. Mandala in 1933 (No. 15, p. 24 and plate 4). The second has been described in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Pune (Vol. VI, pp. 53-54) and the third has been referred to in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year 1918-19, and the fourth has been referred to by Khare (JNSI Vol. IV p. 74). In all these four specimens there is one common Persian legend '*Shāh*' *Ālam Bahādur Bādshāh Ghāzi* on the obverse and *Julūs Maimanat Mānūs* on the reverse. But the peculiarity of these specimens is that there is one word *Śrī Gaṇapati* in Nagari characters in two lines on the obverse and the word *Śrī Pantapradhāna* again in Nagari characters in two lines on the reverse. The B. I. S. Mandala specimen has the date 122 on the obverse as well as *sanah 4* and the word *darb* on the reverse. When Prof. G. H. Khare published this coin in the above mentioned book, he thought that this coin might have been minted at Pune as *Śrī Gaṇapati* was the family deity of the Peshwas and the word *Śrī Pantapradhāna* denotes a Peshwa in general. But when the specimen of the D. C. P. G. I. was shown to him (Khare) he could easily decipher the mint-name Murtaḍābād on that coin.

3. Now Murtaḍābād was the honorific name of the town Miraj

(Sangali, Maharashtra), the chief town of one branch of the Sardar Patwardhan family of the Peshwa period. Queerly enough Śrī Gaṇapati was the family deity of the Patwardhan Sardars also; and as they owed allegiance to the Peshwas, it was quite natural that the Patwardhan Sardars should engrave on their coins *Śrī Pantapradhāna* the general epithet for the Peshwas. Thus though we have not seen and examined the third specimen from Bombay, we are quite confident that these three specimens belong to the Miraj mint of the Patwardhan Sardars. Let it be noted here that G. H. Khare has also already published very rare gold coins of this very type (*JNSI Vol. IV, P. 73*). As these are the only four specimens of this coin that have come to light, these must be considered very rare.

4. But what we want to notice here is that one of us has acquired an eight anna piece of this very coin and therefore the eight anna piece must also be considered as a very rare one. This piece has everything that we find on the rupee except the date and the mint-name. Its size is 2 cms. in diameter and its weight is 5.605 gms.

5. There is one rupee of the Pune mint which is popularly named as *Do Chashmī* rupee because in the semi circular part of the Persian letter *Sīn* of the word *Julus* engraved on it, there is a mint mark looking like two eyes joined to a pointed nose. This type of rupee is rather common. Khare in his above mentioned book has described and reproduced one coin of this type bearing the date 1185 (A.H.) and the mint name Muhiyābād Pūna. Catalogues of other museums record this coin.

But here we wish to draw the attention of the students of numismatics that two eight anna pieces of this very rupee have been acquired by one of us. They are of the British regime as both these specimens bear the dates 1233 and 1236 A. H. corresponding to 1818 and 1821 A. D. respectively. We know that the old indigenous Indian currency of all types was abolished in 1835 A. D. These two eight anna pieces are therefore, quite natural, and genuine as they precede 1835 A. D. Their sizes are 2 cms. in diameter in both specimens and their weights are 5.450 and 5.625 gms. respectively.

6. Among the rupees of the Maratha State there was one which was popularly called *Aṅkuśī* rupee as in the semi circular part of the

letter *Sīn* of the word *Julūs* there appeared a figure of an *aṅkuśa* (goad). This coin was minted by Sardar Raste family of Wai (Satara, Maharashtra) mainly at Bāgadkot (Bāgalkot, Bijapur, Karnataka) and perhaps at Wai; for we have never seen any *Aṅkuśī* rupee bearing the mint name Wai though those minted at Bāgadkot are quite common. But here we want to bring to notice two four anna pieces of this rupee which again nobody has noted so far as we know. One of these pieces bears the Hijra date 1241 (1826 A. D.). As these coins were not abolished from the currency at this time, these pieces must be looked upon genuine and natural. The sizes of these two coins, are 1.5 and 1.4 cms. in diameter and 2.45 and 5.6 cms. in weight respectively.

CHANDRAGUPTA-KUMĀRADEVĪ COIN-TYPE

A RE-APPRIAL

B. B. SINGH

The attribution of the Chandragupta—Kumāradvī Coin-type has been a matter of discussion among the scholars. This particular type of coins bears on its obverse the effigies of the king and the queen along with their names inscribed as *Chandra* or *Chandragupta* and *Śrī Kumāradevī* or *Kumāradevī Śrī*. The reverse of the coins depicts a goddess seated on a lion with the legend *Lichchhavayah* inscribed on the right field.

There are two sets of opinions about this coin-type. The first pioneered by Smith regards such coins as issued in the joint names of Chandragupta, Kumāradevī and Lichchhavis.¹ The other view was first propounded by Allan, who said that these coins were issued by Samundra-gupta in commemoration of the matrimonial alliance of his father Chandragupta with Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī which was largely instrumental in shaping the fortunes of the Guptas.²

But a close examination shows the weaknesses in the two theories. The absence of the family name of the Guptas on the reverse of these coins is a strong reason against their attribution to Chandragupta I as a consequence of the joint rule of the Guptas and the Lichchhavis. The obverse alludes to both the houses of the Guptas and Lichchhavis, but on the reverse only the Lichchhavis find a place. If these coins were the joint issues of the two families, one would expect the legend '*Guptāḥ*' on the reverse along with '*Lichchhavayah*' corresponding to the names of

1. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 99-100; *IA*, 1902, p. 258, fn. 7; *EHI*, p. 266 (2nd edn.) Other scholars who maintain this view are Altekar, A. S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 26-32; *Catalogue of the Coins in the Bayana Hoard, Intro.*, pp. xl-liii; Thakur, U., *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, pp. 125-134; Majumdar, R. C. *NHIP*, pp. 128 ff., Aiyanger, *AISIHC*, I, pp. 184 ff.
2. *The Gupta Coins, Intro.* lxiv-lxviii, lxxiv. Scholars who maintain this view are Mookerji, R. K., *Gupta Empire*, p. 30; Chattopadhyaya, S., *EHNI* p. 143; Pathak, V. S., *JNSI*, XIX, Pt. II, pp. 135 ff.; Goyal, S. R., *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 115-121; Sohoni, *JNSI*, XIX, Pt. II, pp. 145 ff. However, Sohoni does not agree with the view that the obverse depicts the marriage scene.

Chandragupta I and Kumāradevī on the obverse.¹ Against the theory of attribution of the coins to Samudragupta as a commemorative coins, the most convincing objection is the absence of the name of the commemorator himself. The other commemorative coins such as the Aśvamedha types of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I bear the *viruda* of the issuer, but in the present case neither the name nor the *viruda* of Samudragupta has been noticed.² On some other commemorative medallions in the names of Diodotos Seteros, Antimachos Nikator, Euthydemos and Alexander and issued by Agathocleia the name of the commemorator appears on the reverse while those of the commemorated occur on the obverse.³

The expression, *Chandraguptasya putrasya Lichchhavidauhitrasya Śrī Samudraguptasya* in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription⁴ very clearly establishes the connection between the Guptas and the Lichchhavis. It is assumed that since the father of Kumāradevī did not have a male issue and obviously died before the demise of Chandragupta I, the latter may have acquired the actual control of the Lichchhavi state long before the accession of Samudragupta and had become its *defacto* ruler.⁵ But the Guptas acquired '*dejure*' sovereignty of that kingdom only after the accession of Samudragupta who was a '*dvāyamushyāyana*'.⁶ Thus there is reason to believe that during the life-time of Chandragupta I the Lichchhavi State existed as distinctly separate entity.⁷ In the light of this political background I venture to say that the Chandragupta—Kumāradevī Coin-type is a Lichchhavi coin issued during the life-time of Chandragupta I evincing on the one hand the separate entity of the Lichchhavi state and the commemoration of the Lichchhavi-Gupta *entente* on the other.

Kautilya mentions the Lichchhāvika and the Vṛjika as two distinct republics belonging to the class whose consuls bore the title of *Rājā* or king.⁸ The Lichchhavis must have maintained, more or less, the republican character of their state till its final amalgamation in the Gupta empire

1. Srivastava, A. L., *JNSI*, XXXVI, p. 59; Goyal, S. R. *op. cit.*, p. 119.

2. Altekar, A. S., *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 28-29.

3. Thakur, U., *op. cit.*, p. 133.

4. Sircar, D. C. *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 255.

5. Goyal, S. R. *op. cit.*, p. 97.

6. Pathak, V. S., *JNSI*, XIX, Pt. II, p. 141.

7. Goyal S. R., *op. cit.*, p. 97.

8. *Arthasastra*, XI, 1.

after the accession of Samudragupta. A passage in the *Bhikkhuṇī Vibhaṅgā Saṅghādidesa* indicates that a Lichchhavi who wanted to marry could ask the corporation or the *Lichchhavigaṇa* to select a suitable bride for him.¹ As customary, the Lichchhavi chief must have sought the sanction of the *Lichchhavigaṇa* to marry his daughter with a prince of the monarchical state and as such the legend '*Lichchhavyaḥ*' on the obverse of these is given in plural number. The *Lichchhavigaṇa* as a whole is named through the legend '*Lichchhavyaḥ*' as the issuer of the coin.²

It has been suggested that in the absence of a son to her father, Kumāradevī inherited the rulership of the Lichchhavi state and that till her son attained the youth, the administration of this state was entrusted to her husband Chandragupta I.³ But she as the legal heiress⁴ is associated with the honorific term *Śrī* on the obverse of the coin while Chandragupta is devoid of it. Had it been a Gupta coin, the honorific would have also been associated with the name of Chandragupta.⁵ The term *Śrī* is further indicative of the status of Kumāradevī who 'was a queen in her own right.'⁶

As regards the Simhavāhinī goddess depicted on the reverse of these coins, Altekar has suggested that it might have been the tutelary deity of the Lichchhavis.⁷ Though there is no positive evidence to substantiate this view, it appears that the lion-device was popular in Vaiśālī. The Aśokan pillar at this place was crowned with the lion capital and the seal of the queen Dhruvasvāminī found here bears the lion emblem.⁸

One of the grounds on which V. S. Pathak raised doubts about the coin-type being a Lichchhavi issue was the find spots of the coins in question.⁹ These coins have been discovered mainly from the region over

1. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, vol. IV, p. 225.

2. Agrawal, V. S., *JNSI*, XIX, p. 139 has also suggested that the legend '*Lichchhavyaḥ*' be construed as '*Lichchhavyaḥ-jayati*', i.e., 'the Lichchhavis are victorious' and in that position it gives the name of commemorators.

3. Gupta, P. L., *Gupta Sāmrajya*, pp. 238-40.

4. Aiyanger, *AISIHC*, p. 181.

5. Also see Srivastava, A. L., *JNSI*, XXXVI, p. 60.

6. Altekar, A. S., *JRASB (L)*, NS, 1937, pp. 105 ff.; *Coinage*, pp. 28 ff.

7. *Gupta Kālīn Mudrāyen*, p. 23; *The Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, p. xlv.

8. Srivastava, A. L., *op. cit.*, p. 58.

9. *JNSI*, XIX, p. 139.

which the early Gupta kings held sway.¹ But viewed from a different angle, the find-spots of these coins tend to indicate that the coins were Lichchhavi issues. Chandragupta I intended to nominate Samudragupta as his successor because the latter “besides being his bravest son, was also a *Lichchhavidauhitra* whose maternal grandfather or relations had played a vital part in rising the fortunes of the Guptas—an episode which any conscientious and ambitious monarch would have ill-afforded to ignore in the larger interest of his newly acquired empire...”² Naturally, he wanted to impress the position of Samudragupta on the minds of the people at large of his empire and also of Samudragupta’s rival claimants who are referred as ‘*tulya-kulaja*’ in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.³ In order to prepare his subjects mentally for the fact that the off-spring of his Lichchhavi queen alone would inherit him he popularised this Lichchhavi coin more vigorously in the original part of his kingdom.

In the light of the above discussion it appears that the Chandragupta-Kumaradevi type was an issue of the Lichchhavis during the life-time of Chandragupta I and was popularised by the latter for the sake of his own political interest.

Editor’s Note : Some objections can be put forward to these speculations which are as follows :

1. We do not have any other coin of the Lichchhavis. The numismatic tradition connects this type of coins to the Imperial Guptas only.
2. The logic that a daughter of a *gaṇa-rājya* was a ‘legal heiress’ does not sound well because if there was such a tradition among the Lichchhavis there must have been some safeguards to prevent the kingdom from being merged into other kingdom in such cases. Secondly, no tradition in Indian society gives a daughter the right to rule.

T. P. V.

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1. Altekar, A. S., *Coinage*, p. 26 mentions Mathura, Ayodhya, Lucknow, Sitapur, Tanda, Ghazipur, Banaras and Bayana as its recorded find spots. One coin was yielded from the Hazipur Hoard also.
 2. Thakur, U., *op. cit.*, pp. 131-32
 3. Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 255.

A REASSESSMENT OF THE NEW COIN OF DAULAT SHAH OF BENGAL

JOHN S. DEYELL

Recently in this journal Manik Lal Gupta discussed a new silver coin of Sultan Daulat Shah of Bengal, reportedly unearthed and published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of Assam.¹ As Gupta implies in his note, the coin is of considerable historical interest for scholars of the medieval period, and we are obliged to him for publicising it in a numismatic forum. This article will deal with some of the conclusions in M. L. Gupta's note which can bear amplification or revision.

There seems to be some confusion as to the identity of this Sultan Shams-ud-din Daulat Shah : whether this derives from the original notice of the find I am unable to determine, lacking access to the journal cited. From the description and excellent photograph of the coin provided by M. L. Gupta it is possible, however, to clarify considerably the status of both the coin and its issuer.

Description : Silver, round, 28 mm., 11 g.

Obverse : In double square inscribed in a circle,

الإمام al-imām
المستعصم أمير al-musta 'ṣim amīr
المؤمنين al-mūminīn

There is a horizontal, extended-Symbol (∼)
above the *mā* of *al-imām*.

Margin :

ستما [یب] ضرب satamā [yah] (?) zariba
هذه الفض hazih al-fizzat...

-
1. Manik Lal Gupta, "A Rare Coin of Sultan Shams-ud-Duniya wa'd Din Abu Al Muzaffar Daulat Shah of Bengal," *JNSI*, XL (1978), pp. 130-131. The author refers to an earlier article by Dr. B. B. Hazarika in *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, XV (1975), 3, pp. 173-175.

(M. L. Gupta describes this as the reverse inscription. Conventionally the side bearing reference to the Caliph has been called the obverse in medieval Indian numismatics.)

Reverse : Within a square,

[ا]لسلطان الاءظم [a] l-sultān al-ā [zam]
 شمس الدنيا و الدين shams ud-dunīyā wa ud-dīn
 ابو المظفر دولت شاه abū-l-muzaffar daulat shāh
 السلطان al-sultān

Appraising the coin, Gupta comments, "The appearance of the coin which resembles in toto the style which has been found in the coins of the Bengal Sultans." [sic].¹ This observation is unquestionably correct; the coin's fabric is medieval Bengali, as will be discussed below. The author goes on to say, "The coin is interesting in so far as it is the only evidence which alludes to the Delhi Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish's connection with Bengal. Till the discovery of this coin there was nothing extant as a token of the reign of the rebel chief except a coin dated 627 A. H. in which he describes himself as Daulat Shah bin Maudud and which retains the name of Iltutmish the Sultan of Delhi, and herein lies the importance of this coin being the second token of the reign of Daulat Shah who expelled the imperialists from Bengal bag and baggage.

Daulat Shah ruled the country for eighteen months only and this coin of Daulat Shah shows that he assumed independent status."

One must take serious exception to this attribution. Firstly it is not clear what is meant by the initial sentence, since there is no reference to Shams-ud-din Iltutmish anywhere on the coin. If by this statement Gupta means to refer the *laqab* "Shams ud-duniya wa ud-din" to one individual, Sultan Iltutmish, and the *kunyat* and "alam'l-Muzaffar Daulat Shah" to a second individual, Sultan Daulat Shah, his interpretation is quite unprecedented. The formula "al-sultān al-ā'zam (or al-mu'azzam or al-ādil)"-*laqub-kunyat*-'alam-"al-sultān (sometimes repeated twice or thrice

1. Manik Lal Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

to indicate length of royal pedigree),” on a single face of the flan, is common to the silver coins of all Delhi sultans from Iltutmish in A. H. 632/A.D. 1234¹ to Mubarak Shah in A.H. 717/A.D. 1317,² and all Bengal sultans from Yuzbak in A.H. 653/A.D. 1255³ to Iliyas Shah in A.H. 758/A. D. 1357.⁴ In not a single instance where this formula occurs has it ever been suggested that the various portions of the sultan’s name might refer to more than a single person. Since the ‘*alam* “Daulat Shah” is quite clear on this particular coin, it is manifest that there is absolutely no mention of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish. Hence the coin presents no evidence at all as to Iltutmish’s connection with Bengal.

In the quotation above from his note, M.L. Gupta goes on to equate this coin with the unique issue of the Bengal governor, Daulat Shah bin Maudud, which acknowledges the suzerainty of Delhi sultan Iltutmish, A.H. 629 (627 ?)/A.D. 1231-2 (1229-30 ?).⁵ This latter coin, now in the cabinet of the Staatliche Muzeen, Berlin, D. D. R., may be described as follows :

Description : Silver, round, 33 mm., 10.9 gm.

Obverse :

[الم]ستنصر بالله	[al-mu] stanşir bi [llah]
[امير المؤمنين السلطان]	[amī] r al-mūminīn al-sultā [n]
[علاء]عظم شمس الدنيا والدن	[al-ā] ‘zam <u>shams</u> ud-dunīyā wa ud-dīn
[ا]بو الفتح ايلتمش السلطان	[a] bū-l-fath <u>iltamish</u> al-sultā [n]
برهان امير المؤمنين	burhān amīr al-mūmi [nīn]

1. H. N. Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 1936, p. 20, no. 52.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97, no. 371.
3. Abdul Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, Dacca, 1960, p. 22.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
5. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 21, no. 53 A. Wright reads the date as 629. Edward Thomas, in “The Initial Coinage of Bengal Under the Early Muhammadan Conquerors, Part II,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLII (1873), 4, p. 364, reads the date of the same specimen as 627.

Reverse : Within a circle,

السلطان	al-sultān
العدل شهنشاه باذل	al-‘ādil shahanshāh-i-bāzi [1]
علا الدنيا والدين ابو الغا [زى]	‘alāud-dunīyā wa ud-dīn abū-l ghā [zī] (?)
دولتشاه بن مودود	daulatshāh bin maudūd
عز خليفه الله	azd khalifat allah
ظاهر امير المؤمنين	zahīr amīr al-mūminīn

Margin : Unclear, reconstructed by H. N. Wright as

...shahor sanh tis ‘wa ‘asharīn
...ستایه...
...شهو سنه تسع و عشرين
wa satamāyah....

It will be immediately remarked that the full name of this Daulat Shah is given as “Alā ud-Dunīyā wa ud-Dīn Abū’l-Ghāzī Daulatshāh.” Both the *laqab* and *kunyat* differ from the name on M. L. Gupta’s new coin, “Shams ud-Dunīyā wa ud-Dīn’l-Muzaffar Daulat Shāh,” and it is obvious that two different persons are represented.

We may note that the obverse of the above Iltutmish/Daulatshah bin Maudud coin correctly cites the caliph, Al-mustansir Billah. This Abbasid caliph ruled from A.H. 623/A.D. 1226 to A.H. 640/A.D. 1242, which is consistent with the purported date of the coin, A.H. 629 (or 627). The obverse of the new Shams-ud-din Daulat Shah coin however cites the caliph Al-Musta‘sim. This, the last Abbasid caliph of Baghdad, ruled from A.H. 640/A.D. 1242 until his death at the hands of the Mongols in A.H. 656/AD 1258.¹

Now ‘Ala-ud-din Daulat Shah bin Maudud of the coin may refer to either of two governors of Bengal. The historian Minhaj us-Siraj Juzjani, in his work *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, mentions in a list of *maliks* of Delhi Sultan Iltutmish, a “Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā, son of Husām-ud-dīn, ‘Iwaz, Khaljī, Malik of Lakhnawati”, and a “Malik ‘Alā-ud-Dīn,

1. Abbasid dates quoted in O. Codrington, *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, London, 1904, p. 92, and C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*. Edinburgh, 1967, p. 8.

Jānī, Shāh-zādah of Turkistān.”¹ Elsewhere in this work he writes, “...in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, of the before-mentioned year [A.H. 626], information arrived [at Iltutmish’s court in Dehlī] of the decease of the august Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh [the eldest son of Sultan Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish and governor of Lakhnauti or Bengal]; and Balkā Malik-i-Husām-ud-Dīn ‘Iwaz, the Khalj [i. e. the first malik in the list above], rebelled in the territory of Lakhanawatī. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn [Iltutmish] led the contingents of Hindūstān into that country; and, in the year A.H. 628, that rebel was secured [jailed ? executed ?]. The Sultān conferred the throne of Lakhanawati upon Malik ‘Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī [i. e. the second malik in the list above],-on whom be peace-and, in the month of Rajab of the same year, he returned again to the illustrious capital, Dihlī.”² As to the length of reign of this latter malik in Bengal, Minhaj writes, “On Malik ‘Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī’s being deposed from the fief of Lakhanawatī, that country was made over to Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ībak.... He held the government of that country for some time, and in the year A.H. 631 he died.”³ Thus Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā was governor of Bengal until A.H. 628, and succeeding him ‘Alā-ud-dīn Jānī was governor of Bengal until sometime before A.H. 631. The Daulat Shah bin Maudud coin might be attributed to the former governor on the basis of the common *‘alam*, Daulat Shah, if the coin’s date is correctly read as A.H. 627 (*vide* Thomas). Alternately it may be attributed to the latter governor on the basis of the common *laqab*, ‘Ala-ud-din, if the coin’s date is correctly read as A.H. 629 (*vide* Wright). Either way it appears that the issuer of the Daulat Shah bin Maudud coin had lost his Bengal governorship by A.H. 631 at the latest, and therefore could not possibly have issued any coin in the name of the caliph Al-Musta ‘sim, who only succeeded to the Caliphate in A.H. 640, i. e. a minimum of nine years later. We may conclude that the issuer of the new coin discussed by M. L. Gupta, who styled himself Shams-ud-din Daulat Shah and who cited the Caliph Al-Musta ‘sim on his coin, was a different person than the Bengal governor under Iltutmish known as Daulat Shah bin Maudud, and later in date by at least a

1. Maulana Minhaj-ud-din Abu ‘l-‘Umar-i-Usman, *Taba‘at-i-Nāṣirī*. Major H. G. Raverty (tr.), Calcutta, 1881, Vol. I, p. 626.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 616-619.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 731-732.

decade. Thus Gupta's comments quoted above have no bearing on the interpretation of the new coin.

Freed of this mistaken association, we may approach the attribution of the Shams-ud-din Daulat Shah coin afresh. The exact obverse legend "Al-imām al-Musta 'sim Amīr al-Mūminīn", is first noticed on the silver tankas of the Delhi Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban from Dehli mint in A.H. 664,¹ introduced into Bengal on the Lakhnauti mint issues of Balban c. A.H. 665 and continuing until A.H. 673. It ceased to be displayed on Delhi coins after the death of Sultan Jalal-ud-din Firuz in A.H. 695.² The Musta 'sim inscription is then found on every silver issue of the independent Bengal kings commencing with Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus in A.H. 690 until 'Ala-ud-din 'Ali Shah in A.H. 745.³ It must be noticed that all these instances postdate the death of Al-Musta 'sim in A.H. 656. Abdul Karim has analysed this conservative retention of the deceased Caliph's name as a phenomenon of legitimisation of their independent status by Bengali rulers.⁴ Most notably during the tenure of Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim and Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur, when these were governors under threat of direct interference from Delhi, the Musta 'sim legend was dropped from the silver coins and the name and titles of the Delhi sultan engraved on the obverse.⁵ In general then, it can safely be stated that the exact "Al-imām Al-Musta 'sim Amīr al-Mūminīn" obverse legend is typical of silver coins of all Delhi sultans c. A.H. 664-695, and of silver coins of independent Bengal sultans c. A.H. 690-745.

Much of this chronological speculation is made necessary by the lack of a clear date on this single known specimen. The marginal legend which I give in the description above is based on a reading of the *JNSI* illustration (Plate IV, 1). As is often the case with marginal legends of the

1. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 58, no. 241.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 59, no. 243 A and Karim, *op. cit.*, p. 8
3. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 84, no. 286
4. Karim, *op. cit.*, p. 24
5. *Ibid.*, p. 39
6. Abdul Karim, "The Khalifah as Recognized in the Coins of Bengal Sultans," *JNSI*, XVII-II (1955), pp. 86-91.
7. Tughluq/Ibrahim, Wright *op. cit.* p. 113. no. 442A.
Muhammad Tughluq/Ibrahim, *ibid.* p. 129 no. 505B.
Muhammad Tughluq/Bahadur, *ibid.*, p. 130, no. 505C.

tankas of the period, even that portion of the inscription visible is truncated. By reference to established readings of many published specimens, I reconstruct the visible marginal legend, in its proper word order, as “zaribe hazih al-fizzat satamāyah”, i. e. “This silver [coin] was struck.... six hundred.” The last word is incomplete, lacking the *yah* (ﻱ) termination, and its reading is tentative. Note, however, another mis-spelling (or mis-engraving) here—the terminal *he* (ﻩ) in the word *hazih* is missing. So we may have at least the hundreds digit of the date, which can be given in numerals as A.H. 6xx.

M. L. Gupta has written, and I agree, that the fabric of this coin is Bengali. The particular point of identity is the distinct decorative mark above the *mā* (ﻡ) of the word *al-imām* on the obverse. This mark in one of its many forms is invariably found on coins struck in Bengal bearing the “al-imām” obverse legend, starting with Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (earliest dated specimen A.H. 667)¹ and terminating with both Shams-ud-din Firuz and his son Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur (latest dated specimens A.H. 722). It is absent from the later issues bearing this same obverse legend, of ‘Ala-ud-din ‘Ali Shah. The presence of such a mark on this new coin of Shams-ud-din Daulat Shah enables us firstly to attribute the coin with confidence to a Bengal mint and secondly to ascribe its manufacture to the date range c. A.H. 667-722 (or A.H. 667-699 if our marginal reading is accepted). At this point the provenance of find of the coin, Nowgong District of Assam, may be invoked to clinch the identification of the coin as a product of Bengal.

A closer investigation shows that the coin’s decorative mark, described here as a horizontal extended-S (⌒) is commonly found on the issues of Shams-ud-din Firuz (dated from A.H. 701-722), and in unique instances on single coins of Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur (dated from A.H. 710-722), Shihab-ud-din Bughdah (AH 717-718) and Jalal-ud-din Kurban (?) (A.H.

1. That is, the earliest Lakhanawti issue of Balban for which there is a published photograph. H. N. Wright. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Vol. II, Oxford, 1907, pl. III, no. 155.

719).¹ Unfortunately it is virtually impossible to coordinate the various forms of decorative marks with dates, principally because legible dates are so rarely found on the silver tankas of Bengal when they occur as written legends outside the circular margin. Nonetheless we have established that all previously known applications of the extended-S symbol lie within the period of reign of Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah.

A careful inspection of the calligraphy of this coin of Daulat Shah reveals certain peculiarities of engraving style which may be related to other issues of the period. On the obverse, the flat form of the final *mīm*

() in “Al-Musta‘sim” is first noticed on the coins of Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus (c. A.H. 690) and occurs on all Bengali issues thereafter until Firuz Shah’s and Bahadur Shah’s issues of A.H. 722. On the reverse, the peculiar left-curving tail of the initial *alif* () in “al-muzaffar” seems largely absent on the issues of Shams-ud-din Firuz and Jalal-ud-din Mahmud, and present on the issues of Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur, Shihab-ud-din Bughdah, and Jalal-ud-din Kurban (?). Finally, the word arrangement on the reverse of Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus’ coins differs from the Daulat Shah reverse, which is itself identical to the reverse layout of the six following kings (Firuz, Bahadur, Mahmud, Bughdah, Kurban (?), Ibrahim) to A.H. 728.

Coordination of these various clues leaves a very narrow chronological range within which the Daulat Shah coin can fit. When the decorative marks, general legend layout and calligraphic peculiarities have been considered together, it seems certain that the Daulat Shah coin comes after the issues of Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus (last coin date A.H. 698) and before the issues of Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim/Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlu (c. A.H. 724-725). Yet the tentative reading of the marginal date is A.H. 6xx. By a process of elimination, the date of the Daulat Shah coin must therefore be A.H. 698, or more likely, A.H. 699. According to Karim’s *Corpus*, as of 1960 there was no coin known of this date, and I am unable to find notice of any Bengal coin dated A.H. 699 since publication of his work. Providing

1. John S. Deyell, “Sultan Jalal-ud-din, a New-and Still Unknown-King of Bengal,” *Numismatic Digest*, Bombay, II-II (Dec. 1978), pp. 58-67.

all the conditions we have established are trustworthy, the date A.H. 699/A.D. 1299-1300 is most likely.

In the light of the above, what is the historical significance of this coin? Kaikaus was the son of his predecessor on the Bengal throne, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Bughra Khad, and the last legitimate Balbani ruler. On his coins he styled himself "al-sultān bin al-sultān bin al-sultān." His successor Shams-ud-din Firuz was a dynastic adventurer, who is identified with the Bihar governor under Kaikaus, Malik Firuz Aitigin.¹ His earliest coin date is A.H. 701, which is probably the year he seized the Bengal throne. He is styled simply "al-sultān" on his coins; i. e., he lacked royal blood. Hitherto it has been assumed that Firuz gained the throne directly from Kaikaus; now it is possible to speculate that Kaikaus was rather overthrown by Daulat Shah, an upstart so obscure that he fails to be recorded in the histories (such as they are). This implies a condition of political upheaval in Bengal sufficient to permit a figure with a less than overwhelming power base to gain kingship at least temporarily. It may have been in such circumstances that the governor of the Bihar province was induced to make his own bid for supreme power. In this instance he may have used Daulat Shah's illegitimate action (note that Daulat is also simply styled "al-sultān") as justification for his own power-seeking and a mask for his ambitions. J. N. Sarkar wrote, "The coins and inscriptions of Kaiqaus prove with absolute certainty that he reigned at least from 690 A. H. to 698 A. H. The period between 698 A. H. to 701 A. H. is still dark and uncertain. Future discovery of coins may however push the upward limit of the reign of Sultan Shamsuddin Firuz, the successor of Kaiqaus, who was perhaps dethroned or killed about 698 A. H."² Sarkar's prediction was correct, although it appears that Kaikaus's nemesis was named Daulat Shah, who may have reigned anywhere between A.H. 698 and 701, but who at least left a memorial of his reign from A.H. 698/9.

1. Cf. Kagol Mosque Inscription of A.H. 697, in H. Blochmann, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period)-Part I," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLII (1873), 3, pp. 247-248.

2. Jadu Nath Sarkar, *The History of Bengal, Muslim Period*, Patna, 1977 (reprint) p. 93.

SILVER COINS OF QADIR SHAH OF MALWA-948 AND 949 A. H.

S. K. BHATT.

There is not a single contemporary chronicle of the history of Medieval Malwa, giving details about the reigns of Qadir Shah, Shujat Khan and Baz Bahadur. Whatever we come to know about these rulers is all from the contemporary sources of the history of the Surs, the Mughals and the Sultans of Gujarat. There too the details about the events of Malwa history are scanty as well as incomplete. Therefore, for the study of the detailed history of Malwa, one is left to rely more on the numismatic and the epigraphical data of the province. Keeping this in view, an attempt is being made to study the political relations of Malwa under Qadir Shah with Sher Shah Sur and the Sultans of Gujarat.

In volume III-IV of the *Coin Review*,¹ I had published a silver coin of Qadir Shah. As its date was not clear, it was wrongly deciphered by me as 946 A. H. with the result that I could not bring out the significance of the coin. Recently K. K. Maheshwari of Bombay has brought to my notice three more coins of the same series; two of them dated in 948 A. H. and one dated in 949 A. H. I am thankful to Maheshwari for giving me an opportunity to study and publish them here. The details about the coins are as under :—

Metal : Silver

Shape : Round

Weight : 7.61 grams (average)

Dates : On two coins 948 and on one 949 A. H.

Legend :

Obverse

Reverse

Kalima, and,

الساطان بن ساطان

بھادر شاہ ساطان

بن محمد شاہ ساطان

خدا اللہ ملکہ

۹۴۸ , ۹۴۹

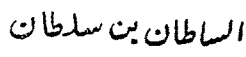
The legend deciphered by me has been doubted by a few readers.¹

1, A Unique Silver Coin of Qadir Shah of Malwa, pp. 5-6, April-July, 1976.

They are inclined to read it as “the Kalima and below it in the last line, either *Sultan bin Sultan* or *Sultan Sulta*,” instead of “Sultan Sher Sultan” which I have read. To be more precise, the portion of the legend which I have read as  *Sher*, they read it either *bin*  or two *nūns*  of sultan as joined together. So far I could read and study the calligraphy of the coins of the sultans of Malwa, nowhere I could find out, either the two *nūns* of *Sultan* or *bin* joined together and written in a way in which they read on these coins. Persian alphable *ye*  is very clear which reads as *Sher* and resembles in calligraphy to that which is generally found on copper coins of Sher Shah.¹

Even if my reading of the legend, “Sher” on the coin is doubted by a few readers, one thing is very clear that all silver coins bear the Kalima on the obverse, which occurs for the first time on the coins of Malwa Sultans and can safely be concluded as Sur influence on the coinage of Malwa particularly in 948 and 949 A. H. Another point worth consideration here is that earlier copper coins of Qadir Shah do not bear the Kalima but it occurs only on Malwa coins issued only after 946-47 A. H. Both the points make the study of the coins significant as well as interesting, for they throw sufficient light on the political relations of Qadir Shah with Sher Shah and the Sultans of Gujarat.

Mallu Khan, latter on came to be known as Qadir Shah, had been originally in the services of Sultan Mahmud Khilji II. In 937 A. H. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat attacked Malwa and conquered it. Mallu Khan transferred his loyalties towards Gujarat Sultan and became one of the most trustworthy officers of Bahadurshah in Malwa.² Mallu Khan

1. Sultan bin sultan is written on Malwa coins like this, 

Here two *nūns* are written separately and never joined together as a few readers are inclined to read. Similarly, *bin* is generally written either as  or as 

My reading of the portion of the legend Sher is similar to coin nos. 748, 760 and 765 (pl. XI) part I of H. N. Wright's, “*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta.

2. *Tabqat-i- Akbari* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. III. pt. II, p. 617 and Vol, III, Pt. I, p. 358.

was duly rewarded for the transfer of his loyalties by Bahadur Shah with the assignment of the jagir of Sarangpur.¹ Thereafter, Mallu Khan had rendered valuable services to Bahadur Shah during the sieze of Mandsaur and Mandu by Humayun.² By the end of 943 A. H. Mallu Khan had become the most powerful noble of Gujarat in Malwa.

The death of Bahadur Shah, in 943 A. H. created vacuum in Malwa and Gujarat as there was no capable ruler to defend Malwa and Gujarat from inevitable attack from Delhi. Such a fear was apprehended even in the life time of Bahadur Shah, who as a remedy to it had immediately forced a treaty on Burhan Nizam Shah. In these circumstances, the death of Bahadur Shah and the fear of an attack from Mirza Kamaran, prompted the nobles of Gujarat to place Miran Muhammad Shah, the nephew of Bahadur Shah, on the throne of Gujarat.³ Mallu Khan immediately supported Muhammad Shah's succession and began consolidating his position as the ruler of Malwa. He started issuing coins in Malwa in the name of Muhammad Shah bin Bahadur Shah.

A month and a half after the reading of *Khutba* Miran Muhammad Shah also died.⁴ He was succeeded in 944 A. H. by Mahmud Shah, son of Latif Shah who was the son of Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat. At that time he was minor; a boy of 11 years.⁵ Qadir Shah now thought of assuming the position of an independent ruler in Malwa. It was duly recognised also by Mahmud Shah of Gujarat on the advise of Imad-ul-mulk, the wazir of Gujarat who happened to be an old friend of Qadir Shah. Accordingly, Mahmud Shah had sent a royal umbrella and the title of Qadir Shah to Mallu Khan with a right to strike coins.⁶ The author of *Mirat-i-Sikandari* and *Tabqat-i-Akbari* writes that *Khutba* was read and coins were struck in the name of Qadir Shah.⁷ As the latter part of their version is concerned, it should be taken either as a portion of the traditio-

1. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Eng. Tr. by Bayley), p. 358. *The History of Gujarat*. 1970.

2. *Ibid*, p. 371.

3. *Tabqat-i-Akbbari*. Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 382-83.

4. *Ibid*, p. 368.

5. The author of *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 406. gives the date of accession as 943 which is wrong. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* pt. I, p. 384 gives the correct date as 944 A. H. and the same has been supported by Firishta..

6. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 358.

7. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, p. 414.

nal phrase used in medieval times, or should be interpreted that Qadir Shah seems to have been granted the right to strike coins by the Sultans of Gujarat which he utilised by issuing coins not in his own name but in the names of Muhammad Shah and Mahmud Shah of Gujarat. He did not issue any coin in his own name and the reason for this has been given in my previous article on the coin of Qadir Shah.¹ The coins issued by Qadir Shah, noticed so far, have been classified into following four groups :—

1. Round copper *tankas* with the legend, *Muhammad Shah bin Bahadur Shah*.²
2. Round copper *tankas* with the legend, *Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah bin Bahadur Shah*.³
3. Square copper *tankas* with the legend, *Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah*.⁴
4. Square copper *tankas* with the legend, *Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah bin Bahadur Shah*.⁵

The study of the legends on copper coins referred above, provides us a complicated, if not puzzling genealogy of the rulers of Gujarat, adopted by Qadir Shah from time to time. It appears that occurrence of this complicated genealogy over the coins has some bearings on Qadir Shah's political relations with the rulers of Khandesh and Gujarat. The analysis of the following events may provide support to the theory.

1. In 944 A. H. when Miran Mudammad Shah succeeded the throne of Gujarat, he allowed continuance of Qadir Shah's authority on Malwa, and, in return Qadir Shah issued copper coins in Malwa with the legend bearing the name of Muhammad Shah son of Bahadur Shah (as he succeeded Bahadur Shah).

1. For details *Coin Review* Vol. II, p. 6 and Vol. III-IV, pp. 5-6.
 2. For details of the coins, refer H. Nelson Wrights, 'The Coinage of the Sultans of Malwa, Numismatic Chronicle Fifth Series, Vol. XII, pp. 43, coin no. 91. And C. R. Singhal's, On Certain Unpublished Coins of the Sultans of Malwa, *Numismatic Supplement, op. cit.*, No. XLVII, p. 136. coin no. 108 a-dated 944 A. H.
 3. H. Nelson Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 43, coin no. 90 dated 945 A. H. and C. R. Singhal *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36, coin nos. 107 & 108, both dated 944 A. H.
 4. *Coin Review*, Vol. II, pp. 5-6 Pl. 1-12, dated 946.
 5. H. Nelson Wright, *op. cit.* p. 44, coin no. 92 dated 945 A. H.

2. After the death of Miran Muhammad Shah, Mahmud, son of Latif Shah succeeded the throne of Gujarat. By this time Qadir Shah became very powerful ruler in Malwa and, was also granted by Mahmud Shah the right to strike coins, in recognition of his independent position in Malwa as a political gesture to seek his support against an attack from Delhi. Qadir Shah too needed such support in case of an attack on Malwa from the north, may be Rajputs, or the Mughals or the Surs. Hence Qadir Shah issued coins in Malwa in the name of Mahmud of Gujarat.
3. Imad-ul-mulk, the wazir of Gujarat was an important factor in recognition of Qadir Shah's independent authority in Malwa by the rulers of Gujarat. After 946 A. H. he did not remain in power in Gujarat politics. There started a civil war in Gujarat whereby Imad-ul-mulk had to seek shelter with Mubarak Shah of Khandesh. When Mubarak Shah was attacked by Gujarat army, Imad-ul-mulk had to leave Khandesh to seek shelter with Qadir Shah, his old friend in Malwa. Now, Qadir Shah was asked to deliver Imad-ul-mulk to the Gujarat court which he politely refused. This led to preperation in Gujarat for an attack on Malwa. Thus on Imad-ul-mulk's affair Qadir Shah's relations with Gujarat were strained.
4. The fear of an attack from Gujarat on Malwa seems to have led to the disturbance of balance of power in Malwa politics and just to restore the balance Qadir Shah seems to have thought of seeking help from the neighbouring power, may be even Delhi.
5. By this time the political situation at Delhi had changed. Sher Shah also felt the need of an ally in Malwa against the Mughals. Hence he had sent a diplomatic mission to Qadir Shah in Malwa requesting him to cooperate with his son Kutb Khan in his plans against the Mughals in the north.

There seems no reason to believe that Qadir Shah should have rejected Sher Shah's offer for friendship. He appears to have accepted

treaty of friendship and, to cement it, he adapted the Afghan pattern and the name of Sher Shah on the obverse of the silver coins.

The critical study of *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* and *Tabqat-i-Akbari* had led to the conclusion that Abbas followed by Nizamuddin had not only suppressed but also molested facts about the exchange of diplomatic mission between Sher Shah and Qadir Shah by omitting the details as well as the result of the mission and also by fabricating a story about affixing of a seal by Qadir Shah on Sher Shah's Farman making us to believe it as the main cause of Sher Shah's displeasure, and ultimately an expedition against Qadir Shah in Malwa. K. R. Qanungo and Hodiwala had accurately assessed Abbas's version by arriving at the correct conclusion that for Qutb Khan's death Qadir Shah can be held least responsible and Sher Shah's invasion on Malwa was on purely political consideration. It has no relationship with seal episode as fabricated by Abbas.⁴ The authors of *Tabqat*, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, *Tarikh-i-Khan-e Jahani* and *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh* all say in one voice that when Sher Shah came to Malwa, Qadir Shah immediately went to meet him without any invitation, with the intention to conclude treaty.⁵

Thus in the light of the facts that Qadir Shah was a powerful ruler in Malwa and, Sher Shah had also acknowledged this fact by sending a diplomatic mission for help against the Mughals and, that seal affair is a fabricated story and, that Qadir Shah was accorded very kind treatment by Sher Shah at Sarangpur and, Qadir Shah went to meet Sher Shah with utter confidence without carrying a large number of soldiers, one can conclude that Sher Shah was not at all annoyed with Qadir Shah for the death of Qutb Khan. Had it been so, Sher Shah would have either imprisoned or killed Qadir Shah when he met him at Sarangpur and would not have allowed him to run away from there. There existed already good relations between Qadir Shah and Sher Shah when both met at Sarangpur in 948-9 A. H. and Qadir Shah went to Sarangpur to enter

1. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, pp. 414-415.

2. *Studies...*, p. 456 and *Sher Shah And His Times*, 1965, pp. 223-224.

3. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, 231 folio; *Ferishta*, 227 folio; Khawaja Niyamatullah, 319 folio and Al Badaoni, 365 folio. All cited from Dr. Nigam's *Sur Vamśa Kā Itihāsa*, Bhāga I.

(further) into an alliance. Al Badauni hints at the similar idea when he says that Mallu Khan offered his services to Sher Shah and was honoured by splendid rewards.¹ The study of the coins under review may also support the view that Qadir Shah and Sher Shah had cordial relations and had entered into an alliance to help each other in times of crisis.

1. *Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh* (Eng. Tr. by George S. A. Ranking Vol. I (1973, Reprint, Patna), p. 475.

A RARE KALIMA-KHALIFA TYPE COIN OF ILTUTMISH

G. S. FARID

(Pl. V. 7)

The numismatists like Thomas,¹ Hoernle,² Wright³ and Lane Poole⁴ have all assigned this peice to Iltutmish. The coin is unique because it does not give the name of the ruler, i. e., Iltutmish, and bears the mint name Lakhnauti.

None of the coins of Iltutmish is as beautiful in design, execution and calligraphy as this coin. The main attraction of its design lies in its calligraphy, which is in ornamental Naskh style soberly engraved by the die-cutter. The description of the coin is as follows :—

Size—28 mm.

Weight—169.7 grains (11 gms. approx.)

Obverse—Square area with double lines, within a circle. The four segments, formed by the square within the circle contain an ornamental scroll. The calligraphy is in floriated Naskh style.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

Reverse—Same as above but the four segments contain three dots. The calligraphy is in Naskh style.

في عهد الامام

المستنصر امير

المومنين

1. The Initial Coinage of Bengal, *JASB*, 1867, part I, p. 9.

2. *JASB*, 1881, Coin No. 3, p. 56.

3. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. 2, Coin No. 34.

4. *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Sultans of Delhi*, Coin No. 35, p. 13.

Margin—Within double circles. Calligraphy is in Kufic.

السلام بكنوت في شعور سنه...

A number of coins of this variety have come to light but unfortunately none of them furnish us with full legend at its margin. The list of such coins is as follows :—

1. Thomas¹ describes one such coin but gives no reading of the marginal legend. The variety is unidentifiable because no plate has been furnished. Weight 162.5 grains.
2. Thomas² describes a second coin with plate which is of a different variety. The weight of the coin and the ornamentation of its calligraphy is comparatively less. The marginal inscription is altogether out of flan. Therefore no reading given. Weight 149.7 grains.
3. Hoernle³ describes his coin as “exactly like Coin No. XXVIII” of Thomas in the *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*. A comparative study of the two plates shows that the coins are not similar but different in varieties. Weight 165 grains. Hoernle’s coin is similar to my coin. The marginal inscription is partially legible and reads :—

فرب هذا ستهاية)

4. Hoernle⁴ describes another coin without plate and states that it is “a duplicate of No. 3.” No reading of the marginal legend has been furnished. Weight 148 grains. Since it is described as a duplicate of Coin No. 3, it is, therefore, similar to my variety.
5. Wright⁵ describes a coin whose plate shows that it is Hoernle’s Coin No. 3 which has been reproduced here. Weight 165 grains.

1. The Initial Coinage of Bengal, *JASB*, 1867, part 1, Coin No. 1, p. 9.
 2. *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, Coin No. XXVIII, p. 46.
 3. A New Find of Early Mohammadan Coins, *JASB*, 1881, Coin No. 3, p. 56.
 4. *Ibid*, Coin No. 13, p. 66.
 5. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. 2, 1907, Coin No. 34

6. Wright¹ describes another coin which is similar to Thomas' Coin No. XXVIII mentioned above. Weight 164.157 grs.
7. Lane Poole² also describes one such coin of the weight 163 grains. Since there is no plate it is not possible to identify the variety. Marginal legend is not given, probably it fell out of flan.

From the above numismatic data, it is evident that this Kalima-Khalifa type of coin is of two varieties; one with ornamental calligraphy and another in comparatively simpler ornamentation. The simpler type is slightly smaller in size as apparent from the photographs (if in actual size). Weight is variable in both the cases.

Secondly, of all the coins of Iltutmish that have hitherto come to light, this is the solitary one which definitely belongs to the Lakhnauti mint of Bengal. Hence, the credit for the establishment of the mint at Lakhnauti goes to Iltutmish and not to his daughter Razia. It will be of interest to note that Hoernle³ describes a coin of Iltutmish as bearing the mint name "Ba-Lakhnauti" of the date 633 A. H. though the engraving reads as "Ba-Lakur." My coin, however, undoubtedly reads the word "Ba-Lakhnauti."

Therefore of the two varieties, one with simpler ornamental calligraphy and of smaller size may be described in the absence of mint name as belonging to the Delhi mint while the other one with ornamental calligraphy and of bigger size belongs to the Lakhnauti mint which is of course evident. The two varieties may, therefore, be termed as Delhi type and Lakhnauti type.

Thirdly, on the basis of the pieces of inscriptions on coins mentioned above, it is possible to reconstruct the entire marginal legend in the following manner :—

ضرب هذا السك في شھو سنة (ست وعشرين وستمائة)

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1. *The Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Coin No. 50 C.
 2. *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum. Sultans of Delhi*, Coin No. 35, p. 13.
 3. A New Find of Early Mohammadan Coins, *JASB*, 1881, p. 56.

According to Thomas,¹ the coin was "supposed to have been struck by Iltutmish on receipt of the recognition of the Khalifa of Baghdad, Abu Jafar Mansur, entitled Al Mustansir Billah on 23rd, the first month of 626 A. H."

Thomas has rightly designated the coin as a commemorative piece issued when Iltutmish received the investiture from the Khalifa of Baghdad. It may be noted that when Mohammad Bin Tughlaq received the diploma of investiture from the Abbasid caliph, Al Mustakfi and Al Hakim of Egypt, he also struck coins without his own name in order to show his respect and reverence as Iltutmish did. The beauty and ornamentation of its calligraphy and the execution bear witness of the fact that the coin is not just an ordinary and usual issue but was struck at some special and auspicious occasion which was of course none than that of the receiving of the diploma from the Khalifa of Baghdad in 626 A. H. which was in fulfilment of Iltutmish's long cherished desire. It is thus quite possible that the mint of Lakhnauti was also inaugurated on this auspicious occasion with the issue of this extraordinary coin of Kalima-Khalifa type in 626 A. H.

The arrival of the messenger was a matter of great rejoicing and merriment. A special function was held with pomp and grandeur to mark the presentation of the diploma to the Sultan in the presence of the nobles and the public. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*² writes :—

"At this time, emissaries from the Khalifa's Court, bearing honours rich and ample, had reached the limits of Nag-awr and on Monday, the 22nd of the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal, 626 A. H., they reached the capital. The city was decorated for the occasion." Raverty³ writes, "The inhabitants of the cities were ordered to decorate their houses on the occasion of rejoicings such as above indicated, the trades-people, in particular decked out their shops by hanging out rich shawls, brocades, fine dresses, all kinds of costly articles of merchandise and even the ornaments and trinkets of their women. Lamps and flags, attached to cords were drawn across the streets and the doors and lower parts of the private dwellings

1. The Initial Coinage of Bengal, *JASB*, 1867, p. 9.

2. *Minhaj-i-Siraj*, Tr. by Raverty, p. 116.

3. *Ibid.*

painted in the gayest colours procurable." Raverty further quotes from the *Taj-ul-Maasir* that, "the Imam, Mustansir Billah sent Iyaltimish a dress of honour, and a diploma confirming on him in the Sovereignty of Hindustan, with the title of "Great Sultan" which was recieved with great veneration. Next day, the 23rd of Rabi-ul-Awwal 626 A. H. was fixed for a general reception, at which the Khalifa's diploma was read in reception in presence of the Sultan, his sons and great nobles. In this diploma, it was declared that Iyaltimish was thereby confirmed in the possession of all the territory which he had subdued. Great joy was manifested on the auspicious occasion, and the Sultan conferred robes of honour upon the Khalifa's envoys and his own chiefs and nobles."

JĀM-I-SIḤḤAT COIN OF JAHANGIR

M. K. HUSSAIN

(Pl. V. 8)

Jahangir is the only Muslim ruler of India who ventured to issue his portrait gold coins from the sixth regnal year, violating all the tenets of Islam. He did dare to put his own portrait on coins intended for circulation. Among such issues, the one issued at Ajmer in the ninth regnal year, in the background of his serious illness and his prayer invoking Khwaja Muinu-d-din Chishti for the recovery of his health, is very rare and very interesting from several points of view. This coin shows Jahangir holding a cup in his hand.

The coin may be described as follows :—

Metal : Gold

Weight : 10.691 gms.

Size : 2.00 cms.

Mint	Year	Obverse	Reverse
اجمیر			
Ajmer	9 1023	Emperor Jahangir, his head crowned with a halo, seated on a throne to left, with legend to right	In double circle with line of dots in between
		قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر یا معین شیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر to left	حروف جهانگیر والہ اکبر
		اجمیر ۱۰۲۳ ضرب	معین یا ۹ سنہ
		زر و زر ازل در عدد شد برابر	

The two Persian couplets are as follows :

قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر
شبیہ حضرت شاہ جہانگیر

Transliteration : Qazā bar sikka-i-zar kard taṣwīr
Shabih-i-hazrat-i-Shah-i-Jahāngīr

Translation : ‘Destiny has pictured on coin of gold
The likeness of His Majesty King Jahangir.’¹

حروف جہانگیر و اللہ اکبر
زر روزازل در عدل دشد برابر

Transliteration : Haruf-i-Jahāngīr wa Allāhu Akbar
Zī roz-i-azal dar adad ṣhud barābar.

Translation : ‘The letters in the names of Jahāngīr and of the supreme
God. From the first day to the last are equal in value.’²

This coin is illustrated by Marsden,³ Stanley Lane-Poole,⁴ C. J. Brown,⁵ R. B. Whitehead,⁶ and C. R. Singhal⁷ in their Catalogues.

The cup in Jahangir’s hand on the coin is most probably the cup of recuperation (Jam-i-sihḥat or Toast of health) which he drank to celebrate the recovery of his health. But the western numismatists like Lane-Poole, Brown, Whitehead and Hodivala persistently referred to this coin as the “so-called Bacchanalian coin.” The word “Bacchanalian” is not

1. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins of the Mughal Emperors in the Panjab Museum*, Oxford, 1914, p. 119.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Marsden’s *Orientalia Numismata Illustrata*, Part II, London, 1825, p. 603.

4. *The Coins of The Moghul Emperors of Hindstan In The British Museum*, London, 1892, Pl. IX coin No. 319. 320, 321.

5. The Heritage of India Series, London, 1922, Pl. XI, 3.

6. *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, Vol. IX, London, 1929, Pl. I-VIII.

7. *Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Sate Museum, Lucknow*, 1965, Pl. V, 261.

only a misnomer, but it is a misleading term distorting the historical facts. So I intend to present all the relevant facts in the right perspective to clear off all the charges of blasphemy from the great and glorious name of Jahangir.

The word Bacchanalian is derived from Bacchus, the Latin name of Dionysus, the god of wine.¹ Bacchanalian means "a drunken reveller or a tippler."²

The westerners have spread all sorts of false rumours about Jahangir that he had inclination towards Christianity, was uncircumcised, irreligious, he flouted Islamic practices, bore strong partiality for boar's flesh, etc. These rumours and his observance of Hindu holidays and festivals; and his unorthodoxy, long religious discourses with *panḍits*, sufis and priests, questioning miracles and indulging himself in excessive drinking gave an impression to Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador of James I, who was in Jahangir's court for three years (1616-1618 A. D.), that he was an Atheist.³

Atheist : Jahangir had inherited to some extent his father's love of religious discourses; "when in liquor, he was fond of arguing upon abstruse subjects, and religion was his favourite topic." He loved to dispute on the laws of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, when he was drunk.⁴ He also disputed on the incarnation of god (Vishṇu).⁵ He did not believe in miracles. Once a church was destroyed in a blaze, but the Cross remained unburnt. Taking advantage of this, the Jesuit father talked high about this miracle. Jahangir heard this and challenged the father to throw the Cross and a picture of Christ into the fire before him and if they were not burnt, he would become a Christian. But the Jesuit refused to heed.⁶

1. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. III, Ninth Edition, 1875, Edinburgh, p. 194.

2. William Little, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, Third Edition, Oxford, 1959, p. 134.

3. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Extra Series, Vol. IV, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow, 1905, p. 452.

4. William Foster (Editor), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-1619*, (Hakluyt Society, London, 1892,) I, p. XV.

5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I p. 32.

6. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Extra Series, Vol. IV, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow, 1905, p. 455.

• He was performing daily prayer or Namaz and chanting verses on rosary. "After performing my evening prayer and counting my rosary" he writes, "we returned to our fixed residence."¹ He ordered that *Jā'i-Namāz* (Prayer Carpets) should be made of the skins of the antelope he had himself killed, and they should be kept in the public audience hall for the people to use in saying their prayers. By way of special respect to the Law he ordered that the *Mir-i-'Adl* and *Qāzī*, should not kiss the ground before him, which is a way of kneeling (*Sijda*).² William Hawkins says, "after he had done prayer, he shows himself to the people."³ He directed the 'ulama and the learned men of Islam to collect the distinctive appellations of God which were easy to remember so that he might have them arranged into his rosary.⁴ He requested the sons of Miyan Wajīhu-d-dīn of Ahmadabad to send him "some of the names of God which had been tested. If the grace of God should be with me, I would continually repeat them."⁵ Two foreigners saw him counting rosary.⁶ He went to *Idgah* on the first Ramzan Id day after his accession to perform *Namāz* and give offerings to Almighty.⁷ On the Id-i-Qurban of the 5th regnal year, he sacrificed three sheep with his own hand.⁷ He was observing the festival of Shab-i-barat with illuminations.⁸

When the joyful tidings of the victory in Dacca reached Agra, he performed the prayer of gratitude, because that enemy was driven by the sheer mercy of the Almighty.⁹

Samuel Purchas interprets the word atheist in the general sense as standing for one not settled in any religion.¹⁰ Jahangir was telling people

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1. Alexander Rogers, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. (Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi 1968,) I, p. 249.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 190, 384.
 3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 203.
 4. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Extra Series, III, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow, 1905, p. 45.
 5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 21.
 6. *Ibid.* p. 129.
 7. Hodivala, *Historical Studies In Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923, p. 159; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 1625, p. 523.
 8. *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 45.
 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 189 & 344.
 10. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Extra Series, IV, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow, 1905, Foot-note, p. 452,

to stick to or be true to the religion they profess.¹ Even he ordered *amīrs* that they should not force Islam on any one.² He was questioning the veracity of religious dogmas and miracles, but he had ample faith in God and also in saints. His coins from the first regnal year bore the name of God and also the prophet Muhammad's name in *Kalima* (the Creed) which clearly prove that he was not an atheist. He considered himself the most humble servant of the throne of Allah.³

Saints : He had strong filial affections and regard for his father, mother and foster-mother. He also had great reverence for saints. Whenever he passed from a mausoleum of a saint, he duly paid a visit to it and recited *Fātiha*. He visited the shrines of Shah Alam,⁴ Shaikh Wajīhud-dīn,⁵ Shaikh Ahmad Khattu,⁶ Shaikh Salīm Chishti,⁷ and Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliya.⁸ Whenever a blue cow (*nīl gāī*) escaped his aim during a hunt, he prayed for the help of Muinu-d-din Chishti and promised to offer the cow to the poor.⁹ He had high regards for Muinu-d-din Chishti, because his father Akbar thought that Jahangir's birth was due to Chishti's blessings.¹⁰

Wild Boar Eating : It is generally said that Jahangir "had a strong partiality for boar's flesh."¹¹ It is a fact that he hunted boars as well as other animals like asses, foxes, eagles, tigers, hyaenas etc. But this fact of hunting does not mean that he was eating flesh of asses, boars, foxes etc. Coryant says that after hunting wild hogs, a beast odious to all Muslims, he used to give them away to Christians and Rajputs. He once sent a hog to Coryant and later wanted to know whether it was good pork or not.¹² He also sent a very fat wild boar killed by his own hand

1. *Ibid.*, p. 425 & 492.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 205.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 428.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 70.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 189 and 190.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

11. *Historical Studies In Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923, p. 158.

12. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Extra Series, IV, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow; 1905, p. 493.

to Thomas Roe asking him to eat it merrily, and send back the tusks etc.¹ He must have asked to return the bones, probably for using them in preparation of some medicine or for some other purpose.

This clearly indicates that boar which is prohibited to all Muhammadans, was also an anathema to Jahangir.

Circumcision : Thomas Roe says that he was not circumcised and was brought up in the irreligious atmosphere.² Coryant also has wrongly said that he was not circumcised.³ His three contemporary historians : Abūl Fazl,⁴ Nizāmu-d-dīn⁵ and Badaoni⁶ have recorded the fact that Jahangir, and his two brothers Murād and Dānial, went through the circumcisiē ceremony on 25 Jumada II, 981 A. H. (22nd October. 1573 A. D.). This evidence by the three contemporary historians is more than enough to prove that he was circumcised. This means that Thomas Roe must have fabricated his version to support his view that Jahangir had inclination towards Christianity.

Unorthodoxy : Jahangir had inherited highly unorthodox views from his father Akbar. He was kind to Christians, Jessuits, Jews and also other non-Muslim-groups. Coryant says that he used to treat Christians so benevolently that no Muhammadan Prince liked it.⁷ William Finch says that he kept the portraits of Virgin Mary and John Baptist and James I in his court.⁸ He observed the "holy days"⁹ and festivals like Rākhi Ceremony,¹⁰ Holī, Diwālī and Dasahra.¹¹ He was liberal to other religions. He thought his heart was open to all. In it there was room for all classes and all creeds like the wide expanse of Divine compassion and so was the case in his empire. Therefore, Sunnis and Shias met in one mosque and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 452.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 474.

4. *Akbarnāmā*, vol. III, p. 103-3.

5. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, p. 370.

6. *Luis Translation II*, p. 173.

7. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 474.

8. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 74.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 452.

10. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 246.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Franks and Jews in one Church, and all observed their own forms of worship.¹

Connoisseur of Art : The reign of Jahangir was more settled than those of his predecessors and the Mughal art attained its zenith under him. Jahangir considered himself a great connoisseur of architecture and painting.² It cannot be denied that he was actually an assiduous collector of historical paintings. William Flinch says that he hung the portraits of Virgin Mary, John Baptist and James I, in his court hall.³ He was also a patron of art, so that he commanded his court painters to make pictorial representation (record) of important events of his regime. One of such paintings depicts Jahangir's visit to the mausoleum of Khawaja Muinu-d-din Chishti at Ajmer in 1613 A. D. He is shown wearing a pearl ring (*bālī*) in his ear. This painting is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Jahangir had a zest for novelties and queer art. Hence he took personal interest in minting his own porttait coins.⁴

Addiction to drink : Jahangir should not be blamed for making a departure from the vice of drinking which was the fashion of the day. It was an appendage of high rank. Alchosolism was prevalent everywhere in the upper strata of society. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Prince Murad, Danyal and Parvez, Sher Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, to name only a few, literally died of excessive drinking.

William Hawkins says it is a custom for the Mughals to drink wine in the night.⁵ Jahangir was addicted to drinks and drugs. Revelling in lovely gardens he gradually increased his potion to 20 cups of double-distilled spirit of strong potency, weighing about six seers of Hindustan, equal to one maund of Iran as he himself admits it in his memoirs.⁶ The weight of each cupful was 18½ misqals.⁷ "In that state of matters no one had the power to forbid me, and matters went to such a length that in the capulous state from the excessive trembling of my hand I could not

1. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 20.

3. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 74.

4. Khafi Khan.

5. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 40.

6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 8 & 308.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

drink from my own cup, but others had to give it me to drink.”¹ But Finch says that Jahangir drank thirty cups a day.² This is clearly an exaggeration because Jahangir had no reason to understate the truth.

Jahangir was drinking very strong liquor, so Thomas Roe says that “their waters are fire.”³ When Roe drank the wine of that potency, he sneezed to the delight of Jahangir.⁴ Roe saw many flagons in *Gusal Khānā*⁵ (parlour).

Hawkins and Roe, tell us that in extreme drunkenness he sleeps⁶ and weeps.⁷ No doubt Jahangir was a lover of wine, but he had a taste for it. He asked Thomas Roe how often he drank, how much and what wine and how his wine was manufactured.⁸ He advised Roe that he should drink twice, thrice, four or five times for Jahangir’s sake.⁹ The emperor also gave a long lecture on the virtues of moderate drinking to his son Shah Jahan on his 24th birth day, and asked him to make a start with a small quantity.¹⁰

All these observations and Jhangir’s fervent passion for wine led the renowned European numismatists to think that he is holding a wine cup in his hand in the portrait coin.

But the facts differ. Though Jahangir regarded ‘a little wine’ as ‘prudent friend,’ he discouraged its use among his subjects by ordinance.¹¹ He had ordered that nobody should prepare or drink wine.¹² He also gave an order that *būza* (rice spirit) was injurious, it should not be sold in the bazars.¹³ He knew what harm wine could do to the health of the people.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
 2. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 75.
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 406.
 4. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
 5. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
 6. *Ibid.*, III, p. 40.
 7. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 390.
 8. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
 10. *Ibid.*; and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 306.
 11. *Badaoni*, II, pp. 301-2.
 12. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

He himself abstained from wine on Thursday nights and Friday evenings considering these days as auspicious.¹ On Friday eves he associated with learned and pious men, and with *dervishes* and recluses.²

It seems that the Jesuits and Christians had high hopes about converting him to Christianity. Also his religious views perplexed his contemporaries and posteriors alike. But Beni Prasad says that the "foreign visitors they revelled in scandal against Jahangir." He "Although officially a better Musalman than his father, was less orthodox in his coinage."³

To contradict the very term, Bacchanalian, to begin with I put forward the following arguments :

(1) It is actually the so-called fervant "Bacchanalism" of Jahangir which led the renowned European numismatists to think that he is holding a wine cup in his hand. They call the portrait on the coin "Bacchanalian figure."

In point of fact the figure on the coin bears a description like this :

'Jhangir is sitting straight on the throne with dignity, with head surrounded by a halo holding a cup or jām in his hand and not as revelling and staggering drunkard.'

He was a dignified emperor. Even when he drinks wine, he drinks in the company of selected nobles and ambassadors, who were allowed to drink only by his command. If any one drank it was only by his command. If any one drank before him without his permission, he was punished. Roe also admits this when he says "on the eve of his birthday nobles drank wine, which none may do but by leave." The nobles who used to drink with him had names enlisted and if any body drank without his leave, it was an offence.⁴ He was drinking only with those who were intimate with him.⁵ Such a dignified emperor can never exhibit himself in a drunken state by holding a wine cup near the lips which would publicise his addiction of wine.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 309.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

3. Vincent A. Smith, *The History of Fine Arts In India & Ceylon*, Third Edition, p. 167.

4. *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 371.

5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 99.

• Moreover, those were the days when even commoners dared not drink in public either to exhibit their addiction or to show off their atheism. Both these trends were unheard of till the twentieth century, much after the advent of the British. So, an emperor could be the last man to be expected to drink in public.

(2) What the coin shows the emperor keeping under his lefthand is not a “cushion or embroidered cloth” but a book. It is the accepted view of many noted authorities like Brown, Whitehead etc., that it is *Quran*, and not any other book. And if it is *Quran* combined with a wine cup, it is so deliberately outrageous that its issuer or mint-master would have been the victim of mass violence by the orthodox as well as unorthodox Muslims. Hodivala says that it is not *Quran*, but *Divān* or *Safīna-i-Ghazal* of Hafiz, a complete collection of some Anacreontic poet, or an Anthology of Bacchanalian verse.¹ This view does not carry much weight as Jahangir himself was a poet² and had no need to give any importance to the books of other poets.

In my view the book is definitely the *Quran* which goes very well with the invocation , **يا معین** on the reverse of the coin and also with the *Jam-i-Sihhat*, and not with a wine cup. Otherwise the invocation has no meaning. Jahangir himself says that he always keeps the *Quran* beside him. His respect and reverence for *Quran* is clear from his passage : “On Saturday I ordered Sayyid Myhammad, grandson of Shāh ‘Ālam, to ask for whatever he desired with out concealment, and I took an oath on the *Quran* to this effect. He said that as I had sworn on the *Quran* he would ask for a *Quran* that he might always have it by him, and that the merit of reading it might accrue to His Majesty. Accordingly, I gave the Mir a *Quran* in Yaqut’s handwriting.³ Once Muzāffar Khan made an offering of a *Quran* with a jewelled cover to Jhangir.⁴

(3) He stayed in and held his court at Ajmer for three years, from 1610 to 1613.

1. *Historical Studies In Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923, p. 162.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 158.

3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 34.

4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 242.

In Amardad, the fifth month of the 9th year of his reign while the royal court was still at Ajmer, Jahangir paid a ceremonial visit to the mausoleum of Khwaja Mūnu-d-din Chishti, during his prolonged illness, to seek intercession for his recovery. It is recorded on the authority of the emperor himself, that Jahangir decided to have ears bored to wear shining pearl ear-rings on his complete recovery, as a token of his becoming a slave of the Khwaja. Accordingly both his ears were bored on 12th Sharewar (sixth month) corresponding to the month of Rajab (seventh lunar month), A. H. 1023 (A. D. 1613). Some of his closest governors also had their ears bored and wore ear-rings.¹ This shining pearl ear-ring can be seen in Jhangir's ear-lobes in the figure of the coin and also in the miniature painting² which depicts him as distributing *khichdī* at the mausoleum of Chishti.

I think it is after becoming a slave of his patron saint that Jahangir struck this very interesting coin at Ajmer. This is corroborated by the fact that the coin bears the date 1023 (1613A. D.), that is 9th regnal year of his reign. The mint-name Ajmer further testifies the point.

4. He kept his illness a closely guarded secret for quite some time from Nur Jahan, relatives, nobles, royal physicians and the subjects,³ so that misfortune might not befall on the country and the servants of God. His visit to the shrine of Khwaja perhaps brought him recovery. This event was celebrated in the palace. The servants of the palace, and indeed the whole of the people, made offerings on the occasion.

After recovery he must have sat in the balcony (*Jharokā*) from where he used to see his subjects every day, and drank *Āb-i-zam* (*zam zam* water) or *sharbat* in a cup, as toast to his health as well as to that of his subjects. This is most probably that had happened to commemorate for which a coin was issued.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

2. Preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 266.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

5. Whitehead, R. B., *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, IX, p. 25.

الله أكبر

جہانگیر

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5. The legend on the reverse of the coin is "Ya Mu'in" i. e. "O'Muin," which is one of the attributes of Allah. It may also be the invocation to Mu'nu-d-din Chishti. The name "Mu'in" is appropriate with reference to Ajmer, the city of Akbar's patron saint and Jahangir's spiritual master, the saint Mu'nu-d-din Chishti.

The coin also bears on obverse the words

الله أكبر Allah-u-Akbar 'God is Great; probably

because according to Abjad reckoning الله أكبر

is a numerical equivalent of Jahangir. The numerical value of both comes to 289. See figure to the left Jahangir himself says that considering the numerical equivalence (289) as auspicious, he gave land, a horse, cash, and clothing to the person who discovered it.¹

The invocation Ya Ma'in and الله أكبر the

highest praise of Allah on the coin prove conclusively how deeply religious-minded the emperor Jahangir was. Here there cannot be any place for even the concept of bacchanalism.

6. European numismatists say that this is a medal and not a coin. This is equivalent in weight and size to the normal gold coins. Brown thinks this is a medal intended to be fixed on turbans. But it does not have any perforations or pin to fix on turbans. It bears the regnal and Hijri year 9 and 1023 and the mint-name Ajmer which are the characteristics of coins. So this is definitely a coin.

Conclusion: The date of the coin is the same as the date of the visit of the emperor to the mausoleum of Khwaja Mu'nu-d-din Chishti after his illness.

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 253.

If these were medals to be given as souvenirs to the nobles and foreign ambassadors, thereby implying that his bacchanalism won't be revealed to the common people, then this assumption is wrong, as one day or the other these were bound to fall into the hands of the common people. Jahangir was a glorified and dignified, sober, responsible and balanced-minded emperor and these qualities of his are clearly borne in the profile portrait on the coin under discussion. There is no trace of drunkenness on his face. The act of lifting a cup of wine to his mouth, which is an indecorous act, does not fit into the background of the coin. Even a common man does not like to exhibit his drunkenness whereas Jahangir was after all an Emperor.

This coin was issued at Ajmer, the place where lies the mausoleum of his revered saint Muinu-d-din Chishti. If at all Jahangir were to issue a bacchanalian coin, Ajmer would have been the last place from where that could be done, 'The city of Ajmer is widely revered by Muslims and Hindus alike.' Therefore, the concept of sanctity could not have been juxtaposed with the bacchanalian pose of Janhangir. Further, during his stay at Ajmer of about 3 years, Jahangir visited the mausoleum of the revered Khawaja almost nine times.²

Considering all these facts and the sentiments attached to Ajmer and the royal character of Jahangir, it can be firmly stated that the said coin is not a Bachhanalian Coin, but "The Jam-i-Siḥḥat Coin of Jahangir."

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 1340.

2. *Ibid*, p. 341.

ART IN TRIPURA COINAGE

RATNA DAS

(Pl. X. 1-4)

Coins of the Māṇikya rulers of Tripura appear to have a rightful claim as objects of art. Indeed they have not so far received the attention they deserve. Though their standard of conception and technical quality is by no means comparable to that of the Gupta coinage, they may be profitably utilised for a comprehensive study of Tripura art during the Māṇikya period. Among the devices seen on the coins especially notable is the rampant lion. It is found on almost all the coins though much experiment was done by the mint masters for giving its mature shape (Fig. 1). The other devices include a Garuda motif and figures of Viṣṇu, Ardhanārīśvara and Veṇugopāla (Figs. 2, 3, 4).

The majority of the coins are struck in silver, gold specie being comparatively rare. Copper examples are non-existent. The coins are round in shape maximum and minimum diameter being 27 mm. and 5 mm. respectively; average weight (maximum and minimum) is 10 gms. and 2 gms. Within a very limited space, the mint-masters worked out figures and their *vāhanas*, occasionally along with the attendants of deities. Reliefs are bold in comparison to the stone sculptures and terracotta plaques of this period. Stone sculptures and terracottas appear to be enlarged versions of the figures of the coins. A comparative study of sculptures and the coin devices would reveal that mint-masters achieved more success than their brethren working in stone and terracotta in depicting their subject-matter much effective and that too within a small format. Look at the Ardhanārīśvare or Viṣṇu type of coins of Vijaya-māṇiky (Figs. 2, 3). They will show how the artist effectively and minutely used the space to depict the entire composition. Law of frontality is strictly adhered to in portraying the figures of deities, while bull and lion in Ardhanārīśvara type are in profile. In the second specimen the head of the Garuda is shown in profile, the rest of the body in enface. The artists used the surface both vertically and horizontally for executing the minute details in limited space. The figures are solid and rounded. In theme and physio-

gnomy they are allied to the contemporary sculptures but are more soft and sensuous in comparison to them. The composition of the coin devices is in general neat and appealing, the exception being that of Yaśo-māṇikya dated 1600 A. D. (Fig. 4). Compositionally it is clumsy and overburdened with ornamentation. The main figure, Veṇugopāla, which is a combination of lines and dots only, is rudimentary in appearance and character. Stiffening of plastic volume, which is also noticeable in the stone sculptures of the Māṇikyas, is also present here. Iconographically, however, Veṇugopāla is interesting. The flute-playing Kṛiṣṇa here is unusually riding on a lion which is symbol of Śakti or Durgā. Whether it is an attempt to repress the Śākta cult by the Bhāgavata faith, is not known.

As said before, in delineating the lion motif, much effort and experiment was done to get the final shape (Fig. 1). In the earlier coins, i. e., coins of Ratna-māṇikya I (A. D. 1464-67) the figure was executed in outline. Gradually it became a solid mass and a modelling quality was sought to be achieved. Dynamic surging rhythm of the body of a charging lion was carefully spelt out on the coins of all denominations. With the gradual development of the form of the main figure, certain addition of motifs, like the trident, flag, half-moon, fish (in the examples of Dhanya-māṇikya only) was made. The whole composition is generally margined by scalloped or dotted lines. It may be mentioned here that coins of Jalal-ud-dīn (A. D. 1418-33) found in the Dacca district (Bangladesh) carry the figure of a rampant lion resembling the type found in Ratna-māṇikya's coin. Ratna-māṇikya had cultural and political relations with the contemporary Muslim ruler of Bengal. Perhaps he was impressed by this motif and introduced it in his coins. In regard to the fabrication the Tripura coins are largely similar to the specie of the Bengal Sultans.

The obverse legend is also placed by using the space in a disciplined manner. The format has been made square or a hexagon by the help of marginal lines and three or four lines of legend was inscribed. As a whole, a sense of discipline and balance makes coins of Tripura aesthetically impressive. Indeed, the artists of Tripura appear to have excelled more in monetary art than in carvings on stone and terracotta. Though the numismatic art is included in the category of 'Minor Art', its importance

* The first draft of this paper was kindly gone through by Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta.

in the history of the late mediaeval art of India can hardly be minimised. During period when the Hindu kingdoms of India were influenced by the style and fabrication of Muslim coinage. Tripura largely maintained her originality by issuing completely different types of coins, which apart from their numismatic value, are of importance and significance as records of creativity of contemporary artists.

A COMMEMORATION MEDAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA

P. K. THAKKAR

(Pl. VII. 3)

The medal in question is described below :

Weight : 217 Gms,

Size : 3.0"

Metal : Silver

Obverse : The crowned bust of Queen Victoria facing left. There are two medals shown on the left shoulder of the Queen. The details of these medals are not known. A beautiful necklace adorns the Queen. In the base of the left shoulder, the initials 'J.E.B.', probably of the medal maker, appears in incuse. The circular legend reads '*Victoria Regina Et. Imperatrix.*'

The embossing and engraving is superb in all respects. The hairs and the muscles of the chin and neck of the Queen are shown in an exquisite and excellent way.

Reverse : In the centre, a figure representing the British Empire sits enthroned with the sea in the background. His one hand is resting on the sword of justice while the other is holding the symbol of Victorious Rule. A lion is seen on each side of the throne. At the feet of the seated figure lies Mercury, the God of Commerce, the mainstay of the imperial strength holding up in one hand a cup heaped with Gold. Opposite to him sits the Genius of Electricity and Steam. Below again, five shields banded together bear the names of the five parts of the globe; Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia over which the Empire extends.

On each side of the figure of Empire stand the personified elements of its greatness. On the right Industry and Agriculture; on the left Science, Letters and Art. Above, the occasion of the Celebration commemo-

migrated is expressed by two winged figures representing the year 1887 (the advancing figure) and the year 1837 (with averted hand), holding each a wreath. Where these wreaths interlock the letters *V. R. I.* (*Victoria Regina Imperatrix*) appear and over all the words we find the legend "*In Commemoration.*"

TWO INTERESTING MADALS FORM MY COLLECTION

I. M. PATNI

(Pl. IX. 4-5)

Medals and medallions form an interesting branch of numismatics in foreign countries. But so far very little attention has been paid to them. I have two interesting medals in my collection which are published here.

I. Air India Medal

Air India, India's first international airline was formed by the House of Tatas in 1932. Today, it is one of the famous international airlines of the world. The medal described here seems to have been issued to commemorate the formation of the airline. The description is as follows :

Shape : Round;

Metal : Brass;

Size : 3.5 cms.

Obverse : The bust of the famous 'maharaja' of Air-India to left. Round legend : *The maharaja of Air-India 1932-AD infinitum.*

Reverse : A motif of a couple which can be seen as a design in the cabins of the plane.

II. Coronation Medal

King George VI and Queen Elizabeth were crowned in 1937 after the abdication of Edward VII. Many souvenirs, medals etc. were issued at that time to commemorate the coronation. It seems that the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, one of the most popular weeklies of the country, which incidentally celebrates its centenary year in 1980, took the opportunity of issuing a medal. This medal can be briefly described as :

Shape : Round;

Metal : Silver;

Size : 2.2 cms.

Obverse : Bust of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to left. Legend
• *King George VI—Queen Elizabeth* starting at VIII and ending at IV. Below.

Reverse : Legend in centre *with compliments*, and, *The Illustrated Weekly of India* running round.

TWO GUPTA GOLD COINS FROM SHAHDOL DISTRICT

S. R. SHARMA

(Pl. X. 5-6)

The coins reported here were examined by me in the District Treasury at Shahdol (Madhya Pradesh), when I was working on a research project—Archaeological Survey of Shahdol District, under the financial assistance from the University Grants Commission, New Delhi. The coins were said to have been originally discovered near Anupapur and Beohari in the district. On my suggestion, they were later on sent to the M. G. Museum, Raipur for permanent custody.

The coins are of gold and belong to the imperial Gupta dynasty. They are the issues of the emperor Chandragupta II Vikramaditya. They are the of usual Archer type showing the emperor on the obverse and the seated goddess on the reverse. The only importance of these coins is that they come from the Shahdol district, which has not yielded any such coins so far.

A NOTE ON THE SALEPUR HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

SATYENDRA PATNAIK

The discovery of as many as 376 silver punch-marked coins from the Rameswar hill of Salepur, situated on the bank of the river Birupa in Cuttack district of Orissa, in the year 1964 deserves the attention of the scholars working on early Indian coins. On the basis of the obverse symbols these coins may be classified in the following five distinct groups.²

TYPE I coins (nos. 1-29, 47, 343-345, 368-369).

TYPE II coins (nos. 30-46)

TYPE III coins (nos. 62-342)

TYPE IV coins (nos, 346-367)

TYPE V coins (nos. 370-376)

These coins bear only prominent obverse symbols like other punch-marked coins, while the reverse symbols are generally absent.

The symbols depicted on the obverse of these coins are varied. Without referring each one of these we can take some distinct symbols often represented on the coins. Besides the solar device and the six-armed symbols being present on all the coins there are other devices like, bull facing right, a circle with an enclosure, a rabbit inside an enclosure, three, five, and six-arched symbols, a rabbit with a pup in its mouth, elephant, tailed arrow with tail curved to left, tree, tree in railing, mountain, four fishes inside an enclosure, four squares above it three branches of a tree. However, as is well known there is no legend on either side of these coins which remains a major handicap for the identification of their issuer.

1. A catalogue of these coins was published in *Orissa Historical Journal*, XII, 1964 No. 3, by Prasanta Roy. P. L. Gupta on the request of the Director of Orissa State Museum had spent a week in the Museum in January 1965 to study these coin types.
2. The classification is made on the basis of similar obverse symbols present on the coins.

P. L. Gupta¹ dubs the coins having the hill symbol as Imperial coinage issued by Imperial dynasties. They may be the issues of the Nanda dynasty. Following this line of argument P. K. Roy² believes that 295 coins out of this hoard of 376 coins might have been issued by a king of the Nanda dynasty who might have established a kingdom in Kalinga.³ Elsewhere he says that "Nandas could not have separately issued their own coins in Kalinga, consequently we have to look after the Chedis, the ancestors of Kharavela and the real issuers of the local coins."⁴ In fact, it is difficult to settle the matter as to whether the Nandas had considerable hold over Kalinga or they established their rule in that region.⁵ Indeed we have no such records, either literary or archaeological, except the Hathigumpha inscription, which throws light on the association of the Nandas with Kalinga region. It would thus be unwise to think that the Nandas issued any coins to be circulated in different parts of Kalinga. Besides we have no positive evidence to show that Kharavela himself as well as the ancestors or the successors of Kharavela issued coins.

It is equally difficult to ascribe these coins to a Mauryan ruler because the obverse symbols of the Mauryan coins have a distinct relation with the reverse symbols.⁶ But these coins do not carry any such distinct reverse symbols. As some scholars have observed : "None of the Maurya rulers issued coins in his name, so also perhaps the Śuṅgas."⁷ It will be improper to say that these coins represent the transitory period of coinage.⁸

It is evident from the above discussion that neither the Nandas nor the Mauryas nor even the Chedis had issued the coins under discussion.

1. *JNSI*, Vol XII, p. 148-149.

2. *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, p, 126

3. *Ibid*, p. 127.

4. *Ibid*,

5. Cf. A. C. Mittal's, "The reign of the Nandas" as suggested by some scholars is one of the darkest, even of the many hopelessly dark, epochs in the history of Ancient India." *An Early History of Orissa*, p. 133.

6. *JNSI*, Vol X, pp. 47-48.

7. S. L. Katare, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1952, p. 68.

8. *OHRJ*, Vol. XII.

In order to get an idea of the issuer of these coins we have to discuss other contemporary hoards of punch-marked coins discovered from different parts of Orissa.

The Sonepur hoard¹ of 162 silver punch-marked coins bears some similarity to the Salepur hoard. Though the obverse of the Sonepur coins are stamped with four constant symbols unlike the five of their Salepure counterpart yet the reverse is similarly blank and indistinct. The symbols depicted on these are elephant, standing bull, two bulls standing on the either side of a dividing line one below the other and dots round a circle having a knob in the centre. These coins like the Salepur ones are of irregular shape and size. These coins according to numismatists appear to be pre-Mauryan.² It may be stated in this connection that punch-marked coins have also been found from the suburbs of Bhubaneswar.

As there are reasons to believe that Kalinga actively carried on trade and commerce with the neighbouring countries and some of the punch-marked coins were issued by merchantile communities or local bodies, we may hold that the coins of the Salepur hoard were issued by some such bodies.³ According to D. C. Sircar,⁴ some of the punch-marked coins were issued by local bodies. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya⁵ also speaks of corporate bodies' right to issue coins. In other words, the Salepur coins were perhaps one of the earliest coin types issued by the flourishing merchantile communities. These coins probably be assigned to the 6th-5th centuries B. C. None of these coins bear any distinct reverse symbol or any legend on either of sides. As to the symbols appearing on the obverse it may not be unlikely that they represent a combination of both the religious attitude (general practice of representing particilar types of animals and symbols) and the guarantee seal for genuiness of the issuing authority.

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, 1951, pp. 92-93.

2. *Ibid*

3. Dantapura and Pitunda were two important trade centres of Kalinga. Kalinga was one of the seven best cotton producing countries.

4. *JNSI*, Vol. XXIII, p. 97.

5. *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 40.

KAUSĀMBĪ COINS FROM SATON : POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

B. R. MANI

Numismatists are conversant with a large Saton hoard of coins obtained in a trench-digging operation in the village of Saton (Haswa) in Fatehpur district. Much of the hoard was melted down by the local goldsmiths, but a sizable portion of 287 coins was rescued by Murarilal Kedia through whose courtesy Motichandra examined the coins and published his observations.¹ A study of the coins reveals 104 coins of Śivamagha, 18 being good specimens, 64 coins of Vaiśravaṇa, 11 being good specimens, 9 coins of Bhīmavarman and 2 coins of Bhadramagha. Coins of the Magha kings have been numerous found from the Vatsa regions.

Palaeographically, the coins of Saton are ascribed by Motichandra to the Kushana and late-Kushana rule. A later ascription of the coins has been denied by Motichandra. He has ably refuted D. R. Sahani's view that Śivamagha and Bhadramagha were the governors of the Guptas, for in that case these rulers will have to be assigned to the early part of the fifth century A. D. when the Vatsa territories were under the direct administration of the Guptas. The Guptas do not find mention in the records of the Magha rulers, nor their coinage has any bearing on them. It seems certain that Magha rule was established in the said territories in the second century A. D., a fact which finds support from the discovery of the seal of Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha which was discovered in association with Kushana antiquities in the debris accumulated above the floor of the building no. 7, belonging to the Maurya period at Bhita.² This view is also in agreement with Sten Konow's ascription of the Maghas to the second and third centuries A. D.³

In view of the Kushana finds including Kanishka's seal and Kushana architecture found at Kauśāmbī, the dominance of the Kushana imperium *intra Gangem* is an established fact. But the absence of Kushana records

1. *JNSI*, Vol. II, 1940, pp. 95-108.

2. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911-12, p. 41.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

after Kanishka from the region east of Mathura and the prevalence of Magha inscriptions and coins strengthen the possibility of the latter being feudatories of the Kushanas who not only assumed the title of 'Mahārāja' but also struck coins and when the Kushanas recoiled their energy to strengthening their position in north-west regions, the Maghas assumed independence. It is polemical if the Maghas enjoyed autonomy, independent of the Kushana rule; the chances are that they had been established by the Kushanas themselves, and had some ethnic affinities with the Kushanas upon the withdrawal of whose supremacy in the east, they fought for their existence.

A clue to the ethnogenesis and existence of the Maghas is found in the so-called enigmatical issues of Mālwa coins containing the inscriptions as 'Magaja', 'magajaya', 'magojaya', 'magajaśa' and the like. There is reason to be sceptical about the identification of such legends on these Mālwa coins which have been usually ascribed by scholars to Mālwa rulers. The trend of political events is indicative of a reverse conclusion. The term 'maga' distinctively stands for a hieratic class of the Śakas in the epic.¹ As such it is difficult either to share the views of some scholars on these terms denoting the Mālwa chiefs or think after Allan² that they are unsound jargons depicting parts of 'mālavānām Jaya' inscription of the earlier Mālwa coins. I also disagree with S. Chattopadhyaya who splits the terms into two parts, e. g., 'maga-jaśa', 'magojaya', and considers them to be "the names, of particular persons belonging to the Scythian stock." But Chattopadhyaya is not free from doubt to his interpretation for which he gives the plea that the names are not given in the genitive.³

For a proper understanding of the terms we must turn to the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbi and adjoining territories. These rulers in all possibility, were attacked by the Mālwas and supplanted by them. This is evident from the ascription of the victory of the Mālwas on Magha coin legends ('magojaya', victory on the Maghas). These Mālwa coins, palaeographically, belong to a period when the Magha rule had dwindled sometime in the second part of the third century A. D. The ethnogenesis

1. *Mahābhārata*, VI. 2.

2. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum (Ancient India)* p. LXXXIII, London, 1936.

3. S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 151, 3rd revised edition. Delhi, 1976.

of the Maghas connects them, on the one hand with the Kushanas whose feudatories they seem to have been, and with their traditional feuds with Mālwas who held them as Śakas (maga).

In ancient records 'Mālwa' does not connote a specific geographical territory; it clearly encompasses seven geo-political divisions.¹ The Sapta-Mālwas have been identified² with the Mālwa country of the western Ghats, Mola-po mentioned by Hsuan-tsang or Mālawaka āhāra of to the Valabhī grants ruled over by Maitrakas, Avanti in the wider sense of the term, Pūrva-malava or Daśārṇa round Vidiśā, territory round Prayāga, Kauśāmbi and Fetehtpur, a portion of eastern Rajasthan and cis-Sutlej regions and parts of the Himalayan country. But the literary tradition contained in works like Rājasekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* distinguishes between the rulers of Mālwa and Avanti. This makes the connotation of the Mālwas based more or less on political considerations. The absorption of the territory around Prayāga, Kauśāmbi and Fatehtpur under the Mālwa rule points to the period when the Mālwas assumed victory over the Maghas and minted the aforementioned enigmatical coins.

The provenance of Saton coins, is indicative of the Magha penetration in the eastern Kushana regions. In time, they became susceptible to attacks from the south by the Mālwas who ransacked the kingdom of Kauśāmbi, stretched at the time to Fatehtpur district. This confirms the inclusion of the kingdom in the land of the Mālwas forming a part of the Sapta-mālawa territories.

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V, p. 229 wherein a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI is mentioned to have subjugated the 'Sapta-mālwa countries.

2. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 492 fn., IV edition, Calcutta, 1938.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IN THE TAHAQĪQ-MĀ-LIL-HIND OF AL-BĪRŪNĪ

J. S. MISHRA

The *Tahaqīq-mā-lil-Hind* of Al-Bīrūnī A.D. 973-1048 displays a comparative study of many subjects connected with Indian society, religion and economy. Al-Bīrūnī was a renowned scholar of his times. He was a court-writer of Mahmūd Ghazanī and wrote many books.¹ In the *Tahaqīq-mā-lil-Hind* he also writes about weights and measures of India on the basis of Indian books or his own enquiries.

We are discussing here his accounts connected with weights and measures of the eleventh century India.

Al-Bīrūnī writes that 'Hindus want the scales very little, because their *dirhams*² are determined by number, not by weight, and their fractions, too, are simply counted as so-and-so many *fulūs*. The coinage of both *dirhams* and *fulūs* is different according to towns and districts. They weigh gold with scales only when it is in its natural state such as have been worked, e. g. for ornaments, but not coins. They use the *suvarṇa* ($=1\frac{1}{3}$ tolā) as a weight of gold. They use the tolā as frequently as we use the *mithkāḷ*. According to what I have been able to learn from them, it corresponds to three of our *dirhams*, of which 10 were equal to 7 *mithkāḷ*. Therefore, 1 tolā = $2\frac{1}{3}$ of our *mithkāḷ*.

The smallest fraction of a tolā is $1/12$ called *māshā*. Therefore, 16 *māshās* = 1 *suvarṇa*.³

The weight of 1 *dirham* was = 7 *mithkāḷ* from the time of the Khalifa Omar.⁴

As far as the weight of one *dirham* is concerned it was equal to 7

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1. J. S. Mishra, "Al-Bīrūnī's Stay and Travel in India," *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIV, Part II, pp. 515-20, 1366.
 2. JNSI, XXVI, I, p. 52, The Coins of Ghazanvide Kings were called 'dirhams'.
 3. *Al. (Al-Bīrūnī's India)* I, p. 16; *TH (Tahaqīq-mā-lil Hind)*, p. 67.
 4. *Al.*, II, p. 309.

dānaka in India during the time of Al-Bīrūnī. Generally one *dirham* was equal to 6 *dānaka*. Most of the early Arab writers refer to *dirham*. In connection with Sind Al-Masūdī writes that 'the money consists of *dirhams*, called *Tāhiriya*, each weighing a *dirham* and a half.'¹ Mansūra Ibn-Haukal says that 'the current coin of the country is stamped at Kandhār, one of the pieces is equivalent to 5 *dirhams*. The *Tātari* coin is also current, each being in weight equal to a *dirham* and a third. They likewise use *dīnārs*.² In this connection Abū-Zaid says, 'Balharā is the most eminent of the princes of India and India acknowledges his superiority. The coins which pass in his country are *Tātariya dirhams*, each of which weighs a *dirham* and a half of the coinage of the king'.³ Idrīsī also mentions the *dirham* and states that they were in use at Mansūra and also current in the Malaya Archipelego.⁴

Even today people use *tolā*, *māshā* and *rattī* in weight. Modern *tolā* is equivalent to a *suvarṇa* which is frequently given by the Hindu authors as a standard weight. Today goldsmiths use *māshā* for the weight of *suvarṇa* (or modern *tolā*) and one *tola* consists of 16 *māshās*. In other words 16 *māshās* are equal to one *tolā* (*suvarṇa*).

Al-Bīrūnī, further, determines the weights as follows :

1 *māshā* = 4 *andī* (*eraṇḍa*), i. e. the seed of a tree called Gaura.

1 *andī* = 4 *yava*

1 *yava* = 6 *Kalā*

1 *Kalā* = 4 *Pāda*

1 *Pāda* = 4 *Mdrī*

Arranged differently we have—

1 *Suvarṇa* = 16 *māshā* = 64 *andī* = 256 *yava* = 1600 *Kalā* = 6400 *Pāda*.
= 25,600 *Mdrī*.⁵

Al-Bīrūnī has compared the weight of *māshā* with *mithkāl*. He says, 'Six *māshās* are called 1 '*draṅkshaṇa*'. If you ask them about this weight,

1. *E D.*, (*Elliot and Dowson*) I, p. 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *AI.*, I, p. 161; *T H.*, p. 76.

they will tell you that 2 *draṅkshaṇas* = 1 *mithkāl*. But this is a mistake; for 1 *mithkāl* = $5\frac{5}{7}$ *māshā*. The relation between a *draṅkshaṇa* and a *mithkāl* is as 20 to 21; and therefore 1 *draṅkshaṇa* = $\frac{20}{21}$ *mithkāl*. If, therefore, a man gives the answer which we have just mentioned, he seems to have in mind the notion of a *mithkāl* as a weight which does not much differ from a *draṅkshaṇa*, but by doubling the amount, saying 2 *draṅkshaṇas* instead of 1, he entirely spoils the comparison.¹

Māshā was used as a unit of weight of gold coin. *Daśamāshā* is referred to by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpā* and *Karpūramañjarī*² of early medieval India.

Al-Bīrūnī also mentions the difference of weights and measures which took place in the society from time to time. He opines, 'Since the unit of measure is not a natural unit, but conventional one assumed by general consent, it admits of both practical and imaginary division. Its sub-divisions or fractions are different in different places at one and the same time, and at different periods in one and the same country. Their names, too, are different according to places and times, changes which are produced either by the organic development of languages or by accident.'³

In this regard Al-Bīrūnī refers to the statement of an individual belonging to Somanāth who gave him wrong informations in connection with *mithkāl*. He says, 'A man from the neighbourhood of Somanāth told me that their *mithkāl* is equal to ours; that is

$$1 \text{ mithkāl} = 8 \text{ ruvu}$$

$$8 \text{ ruvu} = 2 \text{ pālī}$$

$$1 \text{ pālī} = 16 \text{ yava i. e. barley.}$$

'Accordingly 1 *mithkāl* = 8 *ruvu* = 16 *pālī* = 256 *yava*'.⁴ 'This comparison shows that the man was mistaken in comparing the two *mithkāl*s; that what he called *mithkāl*s is in reality the *lālā*, and that he calls the *māshā* by a different name, viz. *ruvu*.⁵

1. *Ibid.*

2. *JNSI.*, XVI, Pt. p. 48.

3. *AI.* I, p. 161, TH., p. 77.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *AI.* I, p. 161.62: TH., p. 77.

Al-Bīrūnī cited the extracts from *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira regarding the weights and measures. He states, 'If the Hindus wish to be particularly painstaking in these things, they give the following scale, based on the measurements which Varāhamihira prescribes for the construction of idols :

1 <i>reṇu</i> or particle of dust	=1 <i>raja</i>
8 <i>raja</i>	=1 <i>bālāgrā</i> , i. e. the end of a hair
8 <i>bālāgrā</i>	=1 <i>likhyā</i> , i. e. the egg of a louse
8 <i>likhyā</i>	=1 <i>yūkā</i> , i. e. a louse
8 <i>yūkā</i>	=1 <i>yāvā</i> , i. e. barley-corn ¹

But there are some differences between the statements of Al-Bīrūnī and Varāhamihira. According to Varāhamihira :

8 Particles	=1 <i>raja</i>
8 <i>Rajas</i>	=1 <i>Bālāgrā</i>
8 <i>Bālāgrā</i>	=1 <i>Likshā</i>
8 <i>Likshā</i>	=1 <i>Yūkā</i>
8 <i>Yūkā</i>	=1 <i>Yava</i>
8 <i>Yava</i>	=1 <i>Āṅgula</i>
8 <i>Āṅgula</i>	=1 <i>Saṅkhyā</i> ²

It seems that Al-Bīrūnī did not follow the table of the weights as referred to by Varāhamihira and therefore copies it according to his own understanding. Al-Bīrūnī, further, states 'Hence, Varāhamihira goes on enumerating the measures for distances, his measures of weight are the same as those which we have already mentioned. He says :

4 <i>yava</i>	=1 <i>andī</i>
4 <i>andī</i>	=1 <i>māshā</i>
16 <i>māshā</i>	=1 <i>suvarṇa</i> , i. e. gold
4 <i>suvarṇa</i>	=1 <i>pala</i>

1. *AI. I.*, p. 162; *TH.* p. 77.

2. *BS.*, *Pratimālakṣhaṇādhyāya*, 2,

परमाणुरजो बालाग्रलिक्ष्यकं यवोज्जुलं चेति ।

अष्टगुणानि यथोत्तरमज्जुलमेकं भवति संख्या ॥

• The measures of dry substances are the following¹ :

4 <i>pala</i>	=1 <i>kundava</i>
4 <i>kundava</i>	=1 <i>prastha</i>
4 <i>prastha</i>	=1 <i>ādhaka</i>

The measures of liquid substances are the following² :

8 <i>pala</i>	=1 <i>kundava</i>
8 <i>kundava</i>	=1 <i>prastha</i>
4 <i>prastha</i>	=1 <i>āddhaka</i>
4 <i>ādhaka</i>	=1 <i>drona</i>

Al-Bīrūnī had seen the work of Charaka which was translated earlier in Arabic. In this regard he writes, "The following weights occur in the book of Charaka. I give them here according to the Arabic translation, as I have not received them from the Hindus viva-voce. The Arabic copy seems to be corrupt, like all other books of this kind which I know. Such corruption must of necessity occur in our Arabic writing, more particularly that a period like ours, when people care so little about the correctness of what they copy. Ātreya says :

6 particles of dust	=1 <i>marīchi</i>
6 <i>marīchi</i>	=1 <i>mustard-seeds (rajika)</i>
8 <i>mustard-seed</i>	=1 <i>red rice-corn</i>
2 <i>red rice-corns</i>	=1 <i>pea</i>
2 <i>peas</i>	=1 <i>andī</i>

And one *andī* is equal to $\frac{1}{8}$ *dānak*, according to the scale by which 7 *dānaks* are equal to one *dirham*. Further :

4 <i>andī</i>	=1 <i>māshā</i>
8 <i>māshā</i>	=1 <i>chaṇa</i>
2 <i>chaṇa</i>	=1 <i>karsha</i> or <i>suvarṇa</i> of the weight of 2 <i>dirhams</i>
4 <i>suravṇa</i>	=1 <i>pala</i>
4 <i>pala</i>	=1 <i>kudava</i>

1. *AI. I.*, p. 162; *TH.*, p. 77.

4 <i>kudava</i>	=1 <i>prastha</i>
4 <i>prastha</i>	=1 <i>āḍhaka</i>
4 <i>āḍhaka</i>	=1 <i>drona</i>
2 <i>drona</i>	=1 <i>sūrpa</i>
2 <i>sūrpa</i>	=1 <i>janā</i> "

In eleventh century India, *pala*, as a unit of weight, was used in business. *Pala* is referred to both by Manu and Yājñavalkya and they equated it to 4 *suvarṇas*.¹ The *Amarakosha* also mentions *pala* as a unit of gold coin.²

Although different measures are mentioned in *Ashṭādhyāyī*, such as, *āḍhaka*, *drona*, *khārī*, *vāha*, *naikunchanka*, *kudava* and *prastha*,³ which denote the smaller units. Varāhamihira has mentioned the *māshakas*.⁴

Al-Bīrūnī discusses *pala* in this manner, 'The weight *pala* is much used in all the business dealings of the Hindus, but it is different for different wares and in different provinces. According to some, 1 *pala*=1/15 *manā*; according to others, 1 *pala*=14 *mithkāl*; but the *manā* is not equal to 210 *mithkāl*. According to others, 1 *pala*=16 *mithkāl* but the *manā* is not equal to 240 *mithkāl*. According to others 1 *pala*=15 *dirham*, but the *manā* is not equal to 225 *dirham*. In reality, however, the relation between the *pala* and the *manā* is different.'

"Further, Ātreya says, '1 *āḍhaka*=64 *pala*=128 *dirham*=1 *ratl*. But if the *andī* is equal to 1/8 *dānaka*, one *suvarṇa* contains 64 *andī*, and then a *dirham* has 32 *andī*, which, as each *andī* is equal to 1/8 *dānak*, are equal to 4 *dānak*. The double amount of it is 1½ *dirham* (sic).

'Such are the results when people, instead of translating, indulge in wild conjecture and mingle together different theories in an uncritical manner.'

The above statement of Al-Bīrūnī shows that the translators of Hindu books in Arabi did not apply critical faculty and involved them-

1. *Manu*, VIII, 135;
2. *JNSI*, XXXIII, Pt. II, p. 118.
3. *India as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 253-54.
4. *JNSI*, XXIX, Pt., II, p. 41.
5. *AI*, I, p. 163; *TH*, p. 78.

selves in different theories. He writes, 'As regards the first theory, resting on the assumption of one *suvarṇa* being equal to three of our *dirhams*, people in general agree in this, that

1	<i>suvarṇa</i>	= $\frac{1}{4}$ <i>pala</i>
1	<i>pala</i>	= 12 <i>dirham</i>
1	<i>pala</i>	= 1/15 <i>maṇā</i>
1	<i>maṇā</i>	= 180 <i>dirhams</i>

This leads me to think that 1 *suvarṇa* is equal to 3 of our *mithkāl*, not to 3 of our *dirham*.¹

The above information of Al-Bīrūnī shows that *mithkāl* and *dirham* are two different weights which were used in Ghazani.

Al-Bīrūnī again cites the version of Varāhamihira, "Varāhamihira says in another place of his *Samhitā*: 'Make a sound vase of the diameter and height of one yard, and then expose it to the rain until it ceases. All the water that has been collected in it of the weight of 200 *dirhams* is, if taken forefold, equal to 1 *ādhaka*'.

"This, however, is only an approximate statement, because as we have mentioned above in his own words, 1 *ādhaka* is equal to 768 either *dirham*, as they say, or *mithkāl* as I suppose."²

In this connection the version of Varāhamihira is as follows. 'One hand round vase of the diameter and height should be filled up with the rain until it ceased. In this round vase 50 *palas* (one *ādhaka*) of water is collected. 50 *pala* is equal to 1 *ādhaka* and 4 *ādhaka* is equal to one *Droṇa*.³

Al-Bīrūnī further correlates the statement of Śrīpāla, a scholar and authority on Varāhamihira living in Multan during Al-Bīrūnī's time.⁴ He pointed out his errors in connection with the weight of *dirham* and *pala*. Al-Bīrūnī states, 'Śrīpāla relates on the authority of Barāhamihira, that

1. *AI.*, p. 164; *TH.*, p. 78.
2. *AI.*, I, p. 164; *TH.*, p. 78.
3. *BS.*, Pravarshenādhyaā, Verse 2,
हस्तविशालं कुण्डकमधिकृत्याम्बुप्रमाणनिर्देशः ।
पञ्चाशत्पलपादकमनेन मितुयाज्जलंपतितम् ॥
4. *AI.*, I, p. 309-10.

50 *pala* = 256 *dirham* = 1 *ādhaka*. But he is mistaken, for here the number 256 does not mean *dirhams*, but the number of the *suvarṇa* contained in one *ādhaka*. And the number of *pala* contained in 1 *ādhaka* is 64, not, 50.¹

In this respect Al-Bīrūnī has cited another example as given by Jīvasarman, who was probably a contemporary of Al-Bīrūnī. Al-Bīrūnī possibly had personal acquaintance with Jīvasarman, as with Śrīpāla.² He writes, 'As I have been told, Jīvasarman gives the following detailed account of these weights.

4 <i>pala</i>	= 1 <i>kudava</i>
4 <i>kudava</i>	= 1 <i>prastha</i>
4 <i>prastha</i>	= 1 <i>ādhaka</i>
4 <i>ādhaka</i>	= 1 <i>drona</i>
20 <i>drona</i>	= 1 <i>khārī</i>

The above statement of Jīvasarman as cited by Al-Bīrūnī tallies with the version of Varāhamihira as quoted above. But about the weight of *suvarṇa* Al-Bīrūnī again says, 'The reader must know that 16 *māshā* are equal to 1 *suvarṇa*, but in weighing wheat or barley they reckon *suvarṇa* = 1 *pala*.'³

Al-Bīrūnī mentions the balance which weighed the things. He says, 'Therefore, the balance is called *'ulā*'.

He has also mentioned the Sanskrit name of weight and its formation. He writes, 'The Hindus have a weight called *'bhāra*,' which is mentioned in the books about the conquest of Sind. It is equal to 2000 *palas*, for they explain it by 100×20 *palas*, and as nearly equal to the weight of an Ox.'⁴ Later on he says, 'This is all I have lightend on as regards Hindu weight.'⁵

About the measurement of solid things, Al-Bīrūnī explains, 'By measuring (with dry measures) people determine the body and the bulk of a thing, it fills up a certain measure which has been gauged as contain-

1. *Al.*, Vol. I, p. 164; *TH.*, p. 78.

2. *Ibid.*, II, p. 309.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 164; *TH.*, p. 78.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

ing a certain quantity of it, it being understood that the way in which their surface is determined, and the way in which, on the whole, they are arranged within the measure, are in every case identical. If two objects which are to be weighed belong to the same species, then they prove to be equal, not only in bulk, but also in weight; but if they do not belong to the same species, their bodily extent is equal, but not their weight.¹

In this respect Al-Bīrūnī has quoted the version of the inhabitants of Kanauj and Somanāth who informed him about their respective measurement which are not verified by contemporary sources. He writes, 'They have a measure called *bīsī* (sibī), which is mentioned by every man from Kanauj and Somanath. According to the people of Kanauj :

4 *bīsī* = 1 *prastha*

$\frac{1}{4}$ *bīsī* = 1 *kuḍava*

According to the people of Somanāth—

16 *bīsī* = 1 *pantī*

1 *pantī* = 1 *moru*

According to another theory :

12 *bīsī* = 1 *kalasī*

$\frac{1}{4}$ *bīsī* = 1 *mana*²

Hence, Al-Bīrūnī compares the measure with his own native city Khwarizm. He opines, 'From the same source I learnt that a *māna* of what is nearly equal to 20 *manā*. Therefore, 1 *bīsī* (?) is equal to 20 *mana*. The *bīsī* corresponds to the Khwarizmian measure *sukhkh*, according to old style, whilst the *kalasī* corresponds to the Khwarizmian *ghūr*, for 1 *ghūr* = 12 *sukhkh*.³

Al-Bīrūnī has discussed the measures of distance too. While giving his opinion in this regard, he cites the version of Varāhamihira. He writes, 'Mensuration is the determination of distances by lines and of superficies by planes. A plane ought to be measured by part of a plane, but the mensuration by measure of lines effects the same purpose, as lines determine the limits of planes. When, in quoting Varāhamihira we had

1. *AI.*, p. 165; *TH.*, p. 78-79.

2. *AI.*, p. 165-60; *TH.* p. 79.

3. *AI.* I., p. 166; *TH.*, p. 79.

come so far as to determine the weight of a barley-corn, we made a digression into an exposition of weights, where we used his authority about gravity, and now we shall return to him and consult him about distances. He says,

8 barley-corns put together	=1 <i>angula</i> , i. e. finger
8 fingers	=1 <i>rāma</i> (1) i. e. the fist
24 fingers	=1 <i>hattha</i> , i. e. yard, also called <i>dasta</i> .
4 yards	=1 <i>dhanu</i> , i. e. arc=fathom
40 arcs	=1 <i>nalva</i>
25 <i>nalva</i>	=1 <i>krośa</i>

Hence it follows that 1 *krośa*=4000 yards; and as our mile has just so many yards, 1 mile=1 *kroh*. Pūlisa the Greek also mentions in his *Siddhānta* that 1 *kroh*=4000 yards.¹

Al-Bīrūnī further says, 'The yard is equal to 2 *mikyās* or 24 fingers; for the Hindu determine the *sanku*, i. e. *mikyās* by idol-fingers. They do not call the twelfth part of *mikyās* a finger in general, as we do, but their *mikyās* is always a span. The span, i. e. the distance between the ends of the thumb and the small finger at their widest possible stretching, is called *vitasti* and also *kishku*.'

Thus, the *Tahaqīqa-mā-lil-Hind* throws much light on contemporary weights and measures as referred to by Indian authors and Arab scholars. It mentions different terms used in Arab world and the Indian names of weights and measures.

1. *AI.*, I, p. 166; *TH.*, p. 79.

PROCEEDINGS

Proceedings of the 66th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India (Held at Burdwan on 18th, 19th & 20th December 1978)

The 66th Annual Conference of the Society was held at Burdwan on the 18th, 19th and 20th December 1978.

The Inagural session was held on the 18th December 1978. Dr. N. Subrahmanyam was the President of the Session. On account of his ill health he could not attend the conference and his Presidential Address was read by the Chairman of the Society, Prof. Lallanji Gopal.

Then the General Secretary Prof. Upendra Thakur read the General Secretary's Report which is here as under :

General Secretary's Report (1977-78)

Honourable Chairman, President and Fellow Members,

I have great pleasure in presenting the Secretary's report for 1977-78. We met last at Shillong, where the sixty-fifth session of our Society was held in December, 1977, under the auspices of the Department of History, North Eastern Hill University. This year the conference is convened by the Burdwan University, Burdwan. We are grateful to the organisers of both these sessions. We also express our gratitude to Prof N. Subrahmaniam, Deptt. of History, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong for agreeing to preside over the present session.

The Society has grown in strength and stature since we met at Shillong in December, 1977. There has also been a slight increase in the number of members.

Volume no. XXXIX of our Journal is in the press and it will be out by the end of February 1979. We propose to bring out XL (for 1978) as combined volume as *A. K. Coomarswamy Commemoration Volume*, which is expected to be out by the end of May 1979.

The scheme of publishing a full Corpus of Indian Coins has been revised and authors for different volumes will be selected soon. We expect to publish at least one of the volumes by 1981.

The work of reorganising the Society's Library has been completed and some books have also been added to the existing list. We are trying to develop our Museum for which a grant of Rs. 30,600/- was given by the Govt. of India and we are making fresh efforts to secure more grant from the government to develop the Library and Museum and also to establish a Laboratory for numismatic studies with full facility to the members.

The cost for running the administration of the Society has understandably gone up during the last few years. But the annual income has not increased to any appreciable extent. We must find ways and means to augment our income to run the Society properly and to implement new schemes.

It would not be out of place to add here that we have been receiving meagre grants from only eight States of our country. We have however, made appeal to other States for adequate grant to the Society to put us on sound financial footing.

For increasing our income we decided to secure advertisements for the pages of *JNSI* but so far we have not succeeded much in this respect, inspired of my appeal to our honourable members to help us in securing advertisements for the Journal and the same I am reiterating. In this connection we would further like to point out that we are not in a position to expand further our Library and Museum as well as the proposed Laboratory for want of space. We have already kept twelve thousand rupees for this purpose but this is too meagre to meet our requirements. We would therefore like to appeal to our members for making generous donations to this fund to enable the Society to achieve its target in this direction.

Ladies and Gentlement, we may have committed errors, but these can be rectified if we work unitedly and with the sole purpose of serving the cause of numismatic studies. The Society has a role to play in the academic world. It is destined to be one of the foremost learned bodies of the world, and let us all strive to achieve that goal.

Proceedings & Resolutions of the Executive Council and the General Body Meeting are reproduced here.

A meeting of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India was held on the 18th December, 1978 at 9.15 P. M. in the Guest House of the Burdwan University, Burdwan under the Chairmanship of Prof. Lallanji Gopal.

The following were present :—

1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal, (in the chair)
 2. Dr. A. N. Lahiri,
 3. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur,
 4. Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta,
 5. Dr. (Smt.) Bela Lahiri,
 6. Shri S. N. Samanta
 7. Dr. Nisar Ahmad.
1. Before taking up the agenda, a condolence resolution was passed on the sad demise of Shri K. D. Mishra (Varanasi) who was a member of Executive Council of the Society. The Council records the services of Sri Mishra rendered to the Society. A copy of the condolence be sent to the bereaved family.

2. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council held on 30th April, 1978 were read and confirmed.
3. Resolved that Dr. K. K. Dasgupta be appointed the Presiding Officer.
4. The Council recorded the contents of the letter of Prof. B. N. Mukherjee, Calcutta, dated 4th July 1978. Resolved that no further action is required on that.
5. The Council considered the letter of Prof. A. M. Shastri, Nagpur dated 5th August, 1978 and it was resolved that the proceedings of the Seminar on the 'Foreign Elements in Indian Coins' be published with Prof. A. M. Shastri as Editor, and he be requested to send the press copy of the same to the Society's Office, Varanasi.
6. Resolved that the appointment of Shri Madan Mohan Srivastava be approved as temporary Office Assistant.
7. (a) Resolved that a permanent post be created and be advertised for regular appointment. Further, resolved that Shri P. N. Pandey be appointed against that post on the temporary basis.
- (b) As a matter arising out for the confirmation of the minutes it was resolved that the services of Shri P. N. Pandey be confirmed as Office-Assistant.
8. Resolved that the D. A. @ Rs. 20% instead of @ Rs. 15% P. M. on basic salary be given to Shri Krishna Kumar Srivastava with effect from 1st May, 1978.
9. The recommendations of the Publication Committee mentioned hereunder be approved.

(a) That the Corpus Volume be distributed as follows :

Vol. I	Part I	Punch Marked
	„ II	Uninscribed
	„ III	Local Coins
	„ IV	Tribal
Vol. II		Indo-Greek
Vol. III	Part I	Saka-Pahlava
	„ II	Kushāna-Sassanian Ephthalite.
Vol. IV		Coinage of Gupta Empire
Vol. V	Part I	Coinage of the Deccan and South upto Satvahanas

	Part II	Successors of the Satavahanas
Vol. VI	„ I	Post-Gupta Coinage of North-India, Indo-Sassanian, The Sahis and Kashmir.
Vol. VII	„ I	The Early Muslim Coinage and the Coins of the Sultans of Delhi (Turks and Khaljis).
	„ II	Coinage of the Sultans of Delhi (Tughluqs, Sayyids, Lodis and Suris).
Vol. VIII	„ I	Coinage of the Imperial Mughals.
	„ II	Coinage of the Later Mughals
Vol. IX	Part I	Coinage of the Local and Provincial Muslim Dynasties, Coinage of the Hindu Dynasties of the Medieval Period.
Vol. X	„ I	Coinage of the Western Powers. Coinage of the Princely States.

- (b) That Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal shall act as General Editor of all volumes and when necessary names of other scholars be included as editor.
10. Resolved that Rs. 250/-be sanctioned for the payment to M/s Ghanshyamdass & Co., Chartered Accountant in connection of obtaining the utilization certificates.
 11. Resolved that the recommendation of the Chairman on the office note dated 1st July, 1978, be dropped.
 12. Resolved that Dr. (Smt.) Bela Lahiri be elected President for the next session 1979.
 13. Resolved that the budget for the years 1978-79 and 1979-80 be passed and the same be placed before the Annual Business Meeting for its approval.
 14. Resolved that Prof. K. D. Bajpai be elected Honorary Fellow of the Society and the same be reported to the Annual Business Meeting.
 15. The Council recorded the content of the letter of the Secretary, Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati, Assam, regarding the venue of the next Conference.

20. 12.1978

Sd/ **UPENDRA THAKUR***General Secretary Numismatic Society of India*

Confirmed

sd/ **LALLANJI GOPAL***Chairman Numismatic Society of India*

Proceedings of the General Body meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held on 20.12.1978 in the Dining Hall, Tara Bagh, Burdwan University, Burdwan.

Before taking up the agenda two condolence resolutions were passed for the late Hon'ble Justice Dr. B. K. Guha, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Burdwan University and the late Sri K. D. Mishra, member of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India.

1. To confirm the minutes of the last meeting : Confirmed.
2. To regularise the nomination of the Assistant Secretary from Shillong session to Burdwan session : Regularised the nomination of Dr. Nisar Ahmad as Assistant Secretary for the period from Shillong session to Burdwan Session.
3. To approve the Budget for the years 1978-79 and 1979-80 : Budget approved for the years 1978-79 & 1979-80 and a copy of the Budget and the agenda should be sent to the members earlier.
4. Any other item with the permission of the Chair. : Read the report of the General Secretary and adopted.

(a) A copy of the Agreement between the Banaras Hindu University and Numismatic Society of India be circulated among the members.

(b) The old and the new constitution should be sent to the members by the end of January 1979. And all suggestions are to be sent to the Chairman.

(c) It was decided to constitute a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee, Dr. T. P. Verma and Dr. S. P. Singh to examine the old and new constitutions and make recommendations to be placed in the next meeting of the General Body.

(d) A copy of the old Constitution and new Constitution and the recommendations of the sub-Committee to be circulated among the members at least one month before the next meeting of the General Body.

(e) In the meantime the old Constitution will remain in force, and new amendments shall be kept in abeyance.

(f) Invitation from Pt. Sundarlal Tripathi be noted for the next Conference at Raipur (M. P.).

(g) Vote of thanks to the authorities of the Burdwan University, Dr. N. R. Ray, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Prof. N. Subrahmaniam (out going president), Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee, Shri S. N. Samanta for their performances, by the General Secretary.

Sd. Lallanji Gopal

Chairman

Numismatic Society of India

Sd. Upendra Thakur

General Secretary

Numismatic Society of India

Proceedings of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India held on 20.12.1978 at 9.45 A. M. in the Dining Hall, Tara Bagh, Burdwan University, Burdwan.

The following were present :

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Prof. Dr. Lallanji Gopal, | (in the chair) |
| 2. Dr. A. N. Lahiri, | |
| 3. Prof. Dr. Upendra Thakur, | |
| 4. Dr. (Smt.) Bela Lahiri, | (Elected President) |
| 5. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee, | |
| 6. Sri S. N. Samanta, | |
| 7. „ Sundarlal Tripathi, | |
| 8. Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh, and | |
| 9. Dr. T. P. Verma. | |

The following resolutions were passed :—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. To confirm the minutes of the last meeting. | : Confirmed the minutes of the last meeting. |
| 2. To confirm the services of Sri Prahlad Narayan Pandey, Office-Assistant. | : Resolved that the services of Shri Prahlad Narayan Pandey, Office Assistant be confirmed with effect from 1.10.1977. |
| 3. To correct the appointment letter of Shri Madan Mohan Srivastava, Office-Assistant, mentioning therein the probation period. | : Resolved that the two years probation period be given to Shri Madan Mohan Srivastava, Office-Assistant. |
| 4. To appoint examiners to evaluate the essays received here in the year 1975-76 for Essay Medal. | : Resolved that Dr. A. N. Lahiri and Dr. K. K. Dasgupta be appointed as examiners to evaluate the essays received here in the year 1975-76. |
| 5. To regularise the medals awarded last year. | : Resolved that the award of medals decided in the last meeting be regularised and the same be given to the awardees in the next session. |
| 6. To authorise the Chairman to grant local holidays, if and when necessary. | : Resolved that the Chairman be authorised to grant local holidays, if and when necessary. |
| 7. Any other item with the permission of the Chair. | Nil |

Sd. **Lallanji Gopal**
Chairman
Numismatic Society of India.

Sd. **Upendra Thakur**
General Secretary
Numismatic Society of India.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT

Figures of the previous Year	CAPITAL & LIABILITIES		Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
	Special Fund :—					
35,593 59	Balance as per last Balance Sheet		35,593	59		
	Add transferred from the following fund :—					
3,300 00	Furniture Fund.		3,000	00		
8,000 00	Library Fund.		8,000	00		
4,000 00	Museum Fund.	4,000 00				
	Addition during the year	30,600 00	34,600	00		
2,500 00	Strong Room Fund		2,500	00		
40,262 59	Building Fund ;—	40,262 59				
	Add transfer from Excess of Income over Expenditure Account.	5,000 00	45,262	59		
— —	Reserve Fund :—					
	Transferred from Excess of Income over Expenditure Account.		1,500	00	1,30,456	18
1,810 44	Booklet Scheme :—		1,810	44		
	Add Interest.		81	43	1,891	87
553 97	Suspense Account.				491	33
1,488 06	General Fund :—					
	Balance as per last Balance Sheet.				1,488	06
	Bank Over Draft :—					
3,872 67	State Bank of India, B. H. U. Varanasi				3,312	57
9,230 80	Excess of Income over Expenditure ;—		9,230	80		
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure.		4,865	70		
			14,096	50		
	Less Transferred to Building Fund.	5,000 00				
	Less Transferred to Reserve Fund.	1,500 00	6,500	00	7,596	50
1,10,32 12			Total		1,45,236	51

Sd. Nisar Ahmad
Asstt. Secretary

Sd. Krishna Kumar
Accountant

Sd. Jai Prakash Singh
Treasurer

30th September, 1978, Varanasi.

31st MARCH 1978.

Figures of the previous Year		ASSETS & PROPERTIES	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
30,945	00	Building	30,945	00		
		Less depreciation for the year.	773	60	30,171	40
1,762	00	Dies	1,762	00		
		Less depreciation for the year.	176	20	1,585	80
3,142	00	Furniture	3,142	00		
		Less depreciation for the year.	314	20	2,827	80
248	00	Typewriter	248	00		
		Less depreciation for the year.	37	20	210	80
6,869	00	Library	6,869	00		
		Addition during the year.	1,367	48		
			8,236	48		
		Less depreciation for the year.	1,235	48	7,001	00
77	00	Duplicator	77	45		
		Less depreciation for the year.	11	55	65	45
1,411	00	Electric Equipments	1,411	00		
		Less depreciation for the year.	141	00	1,270	00
81	27	Sundry Advance				
4,000	03	Museum (at cost)	4,000	03		
		Addition during the year.	30,446	63	34,446	63
2,590	00	Strong Room			2,590	00
		Cash and Bank Balances				
11,550	00	with State Bank of India fixed deposit. (Reserve Fund)	11,550	00		
5,000	00	with State Bank of India fixed deposit. (Reserve Fund)	5,000	00		
4,000	00	with State Bank of India fixed Deposit. (Special Fund)	4,000	00		
1,810	44	with State Bank of India (Govt. of India Grant Booklet Scheme)	1,891	87		
8,236	00	with State Bank of India S. B. No. 17161	1,962	16		
10,000	00	with State Bank of India Fixed deposit (Building Fund)	15,000	00		
15,720	00	with State Bank of India Fixed deposit (Special Publication Fund)	15,720	00		
876	78	with State Bank of India S. B. No. 15170	915	96		
—	—	with State Bank of India Fixed deposit (Reserve Fund)	8,500	00		
1,993	60	Cash in hand.	527	64	65,067	63
1,10,312	12		Total Rs.		1,45,236	51

As per our separate report on that date.

Sd. **Ghanshyam Das**

Ghanshyam Das & Co., Chartered Accountants

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

Figures of the Previous Year		EXPENDITURE	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
4,630 25	To	Postage & Telegrams			1,379	92
14,287 49	„	Salary (including allowances, D. A. and Provident Fund			16,252	76
900 00	„	Asstt. Secretary Honorarium			900	00
600 00	„	Editor's Honorarium			600	00
— —	„	Author's Honorarium			1,240	00
	„	Publication Expenses :				
5,838 10		Cost of paper	2,873	94		
5,152 25		Cost of Printing	9,132	00		
184 00		Cost of Binding	925	00		
86 55		Draftmanship	—	—		
866 20		Cost of Block	316	87		
— —		Cartage charges	190	60	13,438	41
910 00	„	Numismatic Supplement			—	—
1,413 25	„	Coin Review			—	—
173 19	„	Bank commission			159	07
1,234 40	„	Sundry Expenses			1,598	69
3,206 30	„	Travelling & Convyance			2,528	20
250 00	„	Audit Fee			250	00
998 25	„	Binding expenses for Library Books			—	—
167 00	„	Electric & Water Supply			306	00
544 83	„	Stationery			1,536	85
205 31	„	Annual Conference Expenses			—	—
932 95	„	Telephone charges			912	70
176 90	„	White Washing of Museum			—	—
— —	„	Laboratory Expenses			770	01
2,765 03	„	Depreciation on Assets :				
		Building	773	60		
		Electric Equipments	141	00		
		Dies	176	20		
		Furniture	314	20		
		Typewriter	37	20		
		Library	1,235	48		
		Duplicator	11	55	2,689	23
9,825 59	„	Excess of Income over Expenditure			4,865	70
55,347 84					Total Rs.	49,427 54

Sd. Nisar Ahmad

Asstt. Secretary

Sd. Jai Prakash Singh

Treasurer

Sd. Krishna Kumar

Accountant

Dated : 30th September, 1979

Varanasi

Figures of the
previous Year

55,347 84

49,427 54

Sd. Ghanshyam Das

Ghanshyam Das & Co. Chartered Accountants

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEARS
INCOME

S. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1977-78	Estimates for 1978-79	Estimates for 1979-80	Remarks
	By balance	1,993-60	527-64	—	
I General Fund					
1.	By Subscription	12,548-95	10,000-00	10,000-00	
2.	By Government Grants :	43,650-00			
	(i) Central Govt.-Recurring Rs. 4,000-00		4,000-00	4,000-00	
	(ii) „ „ Non-Recurring for Museum : 30,600-00		—	—	
	(iii) Indian Council of Historical Research 4,750-00		5,000-00	4,750-00	
	(iv) Bihar 1976-77 & 1977-78 600-00		300-00	300-00	
	(v) Gujarat „ „ 750-00		500-00	500-00	
	(vi) Himanchal „ — 250-00		—	—	
	(vii) Tamilnadu „ „ 1,200-00		600-00	600-00	
	(viii) Maharashtra „ 1,000-00		1,000-00	1,000-00	
	(ix) Uttar Pradesh „ 500-00		500-00	500-00	
	(x) Madhya Pradesh		* 600-00	300-00	*1977-78 1978-79.
	(xi) Orissa Govt.		*600-00	300-00	*—do—
	(xii) Assam Govt.		5,000-00	5,000-00	
3.	By Refund of Advance	109-11			
		56,308-06	28,100-00	27,250-00	

II. Special Fund

4.	By Donation	259-41	500-00	500-00	
5.	By Delegation	—	100-00	100-00	
6.	By Advertisement	173-90	500-00	500-00	
		433-31	1,100-00	1,100-00	

1978-79 & 1979-80 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1977-78

EXPENDITURE

S. No.	PARTICULARS	Actuals of 1977-78		Estimates for 1978-79		1979-80		Remarks
I. General Fund								
	BALANCE (if over drawn)	—	—	—	—	1,01,407	51	
1.	To Salary, D. A. & contribution towards Provident Fund.	16,252	76	20,085	15	22,344	56	Vide appendix
2.	To Honorarium :							
	(a) Secretaryship	900	00	900	00	900	00	
	(b) Editors	600	00	750	00	750	00	
	(c) Auditors	250	00	250	00	250	00	
	(d) Authorship	1,240	00	5,000	00	5,000	00	
3.	To Office Expenses :							
	(a) Stationery	1,536	85	1,500	00	1,500	00	
	(b) Telephones	912	70	1,000	00	1,000	00	
	(c) Postage	1,379	92	1,500	00	1,500	00	
	(d) Contingent	1,598	69	1,500	00	1,500	00	
	(e) Electric Bills and Equipments	306	00	3,000	00	3,000	00	
	(f) Advertisement	—	—	250	00	250	00	
	(g) Banking charges	159	07	250	00	250	00	
	(h) Suspence a/c	90	48	—	—	—	—	
4.	To Printing of Journals etc.	13,438	41	15,000	00	15,000	00	
5.	To Travelling Allowance & Conveyance	2,528	20	3,000	00	3,000	00	
6.	To Library Books etc.	1,367	48	30,000	00	30,000	00	
7.	To Laboratory	770	01	5,000	00	5,000	00	
8.	To Museum	30,446	60	50,000	00	50,000	00	
9.	To Furnitures	—	—	2,500	00	2,500	00	
10.	To Annual Conference	—	—	5,000	00	5,000	00	
		37,777	17	1,16,585	15	1,48,744	56	

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEARS

INCOME

S. N.	Particulars	Actuals of 1977-78	Estimates 1978-79	For the 1979-80	Remarks
C. O.					
III. Publication Fund					
7. „	(i) Sale of Publications	21,892-94	15,000-00	15,000-00	
	(ii) Numismatic Supplement	314-00	250-00	—	
	(iii) Coin Review	423-00	100-00	100-00	
		22,629-94	15,350-00	15,100-00	

Total	81,364-91	45,077-64	43,450-00
Deficit	—	1,01,407-51	3,0 ,702-07
Grand Total	81,364-91	1,46,485-15	3,52,152-07

Sd. **Krishna Kumar**
Accountant

1978-79 & 1979-80 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1977-78

EXPENDITURE

S. N.	PARTICULARS	Actuals of 1977-78	Estimates for 1978-79	Estimates for 1979-80	Remarks
C. O.					
II. Special Publications					
11. I. To	(a) Reprinting of back volumes of the JNSI.	— —	15,000 00	15,000 00	
	(b) Reprinting of the Memoirs	— —	3,000 00	3,000 00	
	(c) „ „ „ Monographs	— —	6,000 00	6,000 00	
	(d) „ „ „ Technique of Casting Coins—	— —	4,000 00	— —	
	(e) „ „ of Bayana Hoard	— —	25,000 00	— —	
II. To	(a) Printing of Monographs	— —	5,000 00	5,000 00	
	(b) Seminar Proceedings	— —	5,000 00	5,000 00	
	(c) Bibliography	— —	3,000 00	3,000 00	
	(d) Corpus	— —	10,000 00	10,000 00	
			76,000 00	47,000 00	
12.	To BUILDING FUND	5,000 00	75,000 00	50,000 00	
13.	To RESERVE FUND	1,500 00	3,000 00	3,000 00	
14.	To SPECIAL FUND	— —	2,000 00	2,000 00	
15.	To Bank	560 10	— —	— —	
		7,060 10	80,000 00	55,000 00	
Total		80,837 27	1,46,485 15	3,52,152 07	
Balance		527 64	— —	— —	
Grand Total		81,364 91	1,46,485 15	3,52,152 07	

Sd. Nisar Ahmad
Asstt. Secretary

Sd. J. P. Singh
Treasurer.

APPENDIX

S. No.	NAME WITH DESIGNATION	ACTUALS OF 1977-78		E S T I M A T E S		FOR THE YEARS	
		Salary	D.A.	P.F.	Salary	D.A.	P.F.
1.	Shri Krishna Kumar Srivastava Accountant-cum-Head Clerk	6,360-00	636-00	529-98	6,600-00	990-00	550-00
2.	Shri Prahlad Narayan Pandey Office Asstt.-cum-Typist	2,873-87	287-38	— —	3,102-00	620-40	258-50
3(a).	Chandra Has Pandey, Office-Asstt.	894-33	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
3(b).	Madan Mohan Srivastava (27-7-78) Office-Asstt.	— —	— —	— —	2,000-00	400-00	— —
4.	Budhu Ram, Gardener-cum-Peon	1,968-00	196-80	164-00	2,040-00	408-00	170-00
5.	Radheshyam, Peon	1,671-97	167-78	— —	1,875-00	375-00	156-25
6.	Jibodh, Chaukidar	300-00	— —	— —	300-00	— —	— —
7.	Ram Autar, Sweeper	195-65	— —	— —	240-00	— —	— —
GRAND TOTAL		16,252-76		20,085-15		22,344-56	

14,270-82:1,287-96:693-9 16,157-00:2,793-40:1,134-75:17,862-00:3,122-40:1,360-16

Remarks : Pay Scales :

Accountant-cum-Head Clerk : 350-15-500-E.B.-20-620 : Office-Asstt. : 250-6-310-E.B.-8-390-10-420
Peon : 150-5-200-E.B.-5-250.

Sd. Krishna Kumar
Accountant

Sd. J. P. Singh
Treasurer

Sd. Nisar Ahmad
Asstt. Secretary

AUDITOR'S REPORT

The Secretary,
The Numismatic Society of India,
P. O. Hindu University,
Varanasi

Dear Sir,

In terms of our separate report we have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1978 and the annexed Income & Expenditure Account for the year ended on that date of The Numismatic Society of India, P. O. Hindu University, Varanasi with the books and vouchers and have to report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion the annexed Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society, subject to that :—

1. Bank Reconciliation Statements were not produced to us.

Sd. Ghanshyam Das
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

Buy & Sell

Ancient Indian Coins form Licence Holders only.

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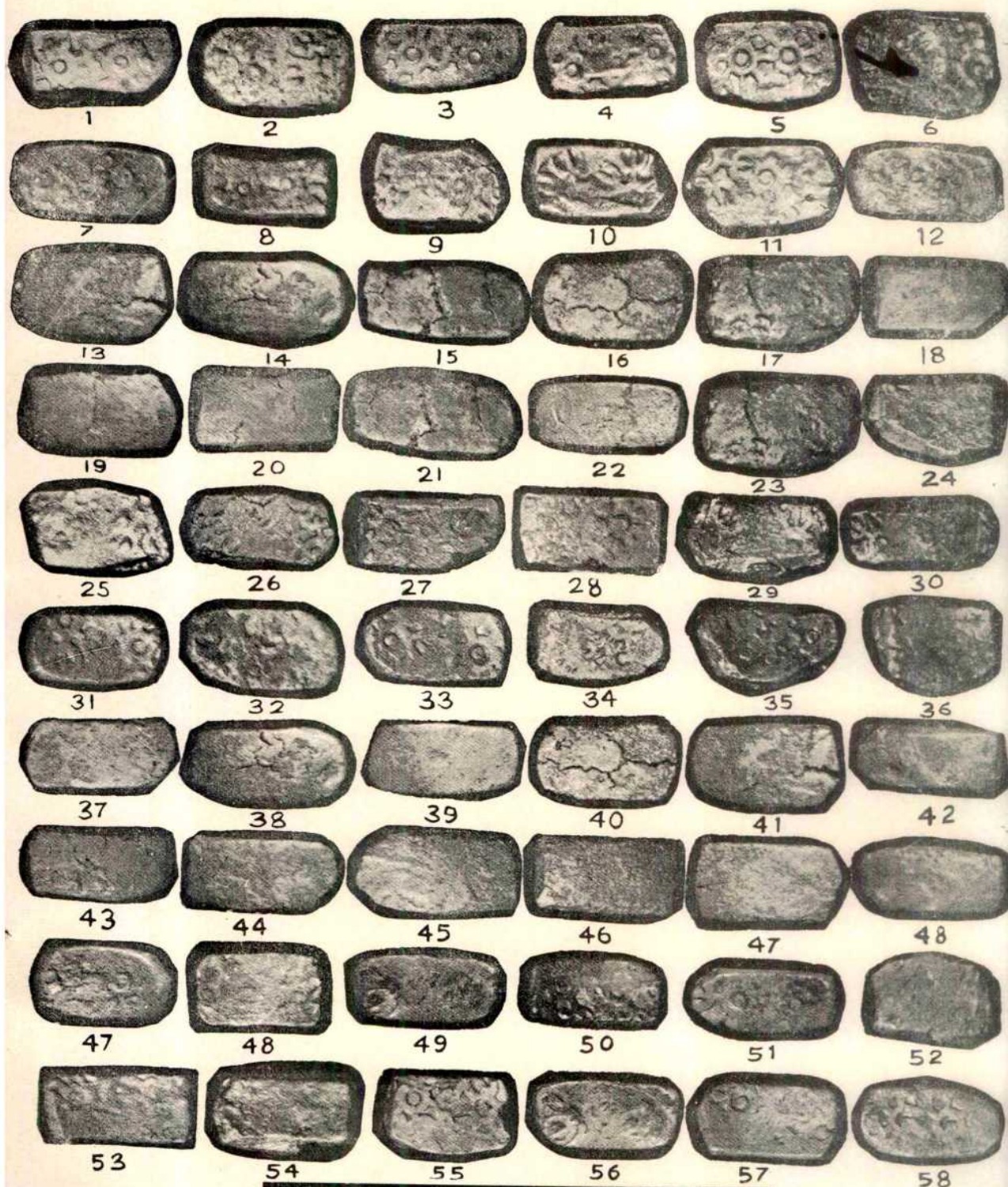
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NNM No. 18

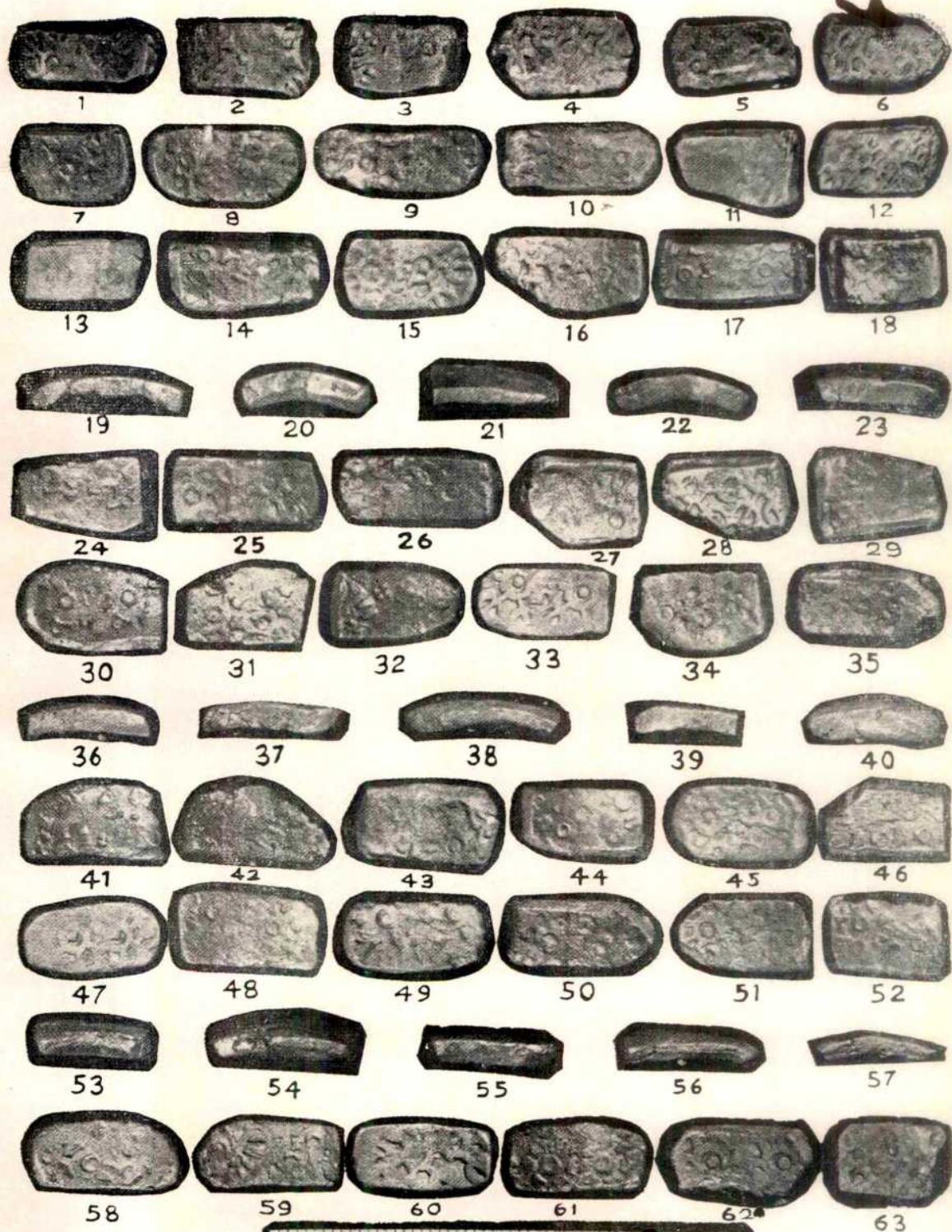
A SCHEMA OF INDO-BACTRIAN COINAGE

By Dr. K. Walton Dobbins

Price Rs. 40/-



Copper Bent-Bar Coins from Kauśāmbī



Copper Bent-Bar Coins from Kausāmbī

PEASE III



1



2



3



4



5



6



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1. Two-Double Obverse Silver P. M. Coins: 2-8 P. M. Coins from Volleget



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1-5 P. M. Coins from Vellanur; 6 A New Type of Arjunayana coin; 7 A Rare Kalima-



1



2



3



4



5



6



6

1-5 Siva on Some Kushāṇa coins; 6 A Silver Coin of Imperial Guptas.



1



2



3



1-2 Two Kshatrapa Silver coins from Pauniar; 3 A Commemorative Medal of Queen Victoria



1-2 Two Gold Coins from Chandraketugarh; 1a-2a Enlargements of the above



1



3



2



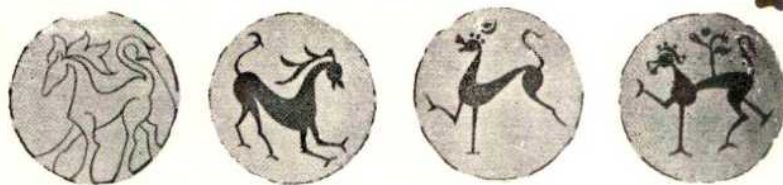
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5



1-3. Some Maratha Rupees; 4 Air India Commemorative Medal; 5 A Coronation Medal of King George VI.



1



2



3



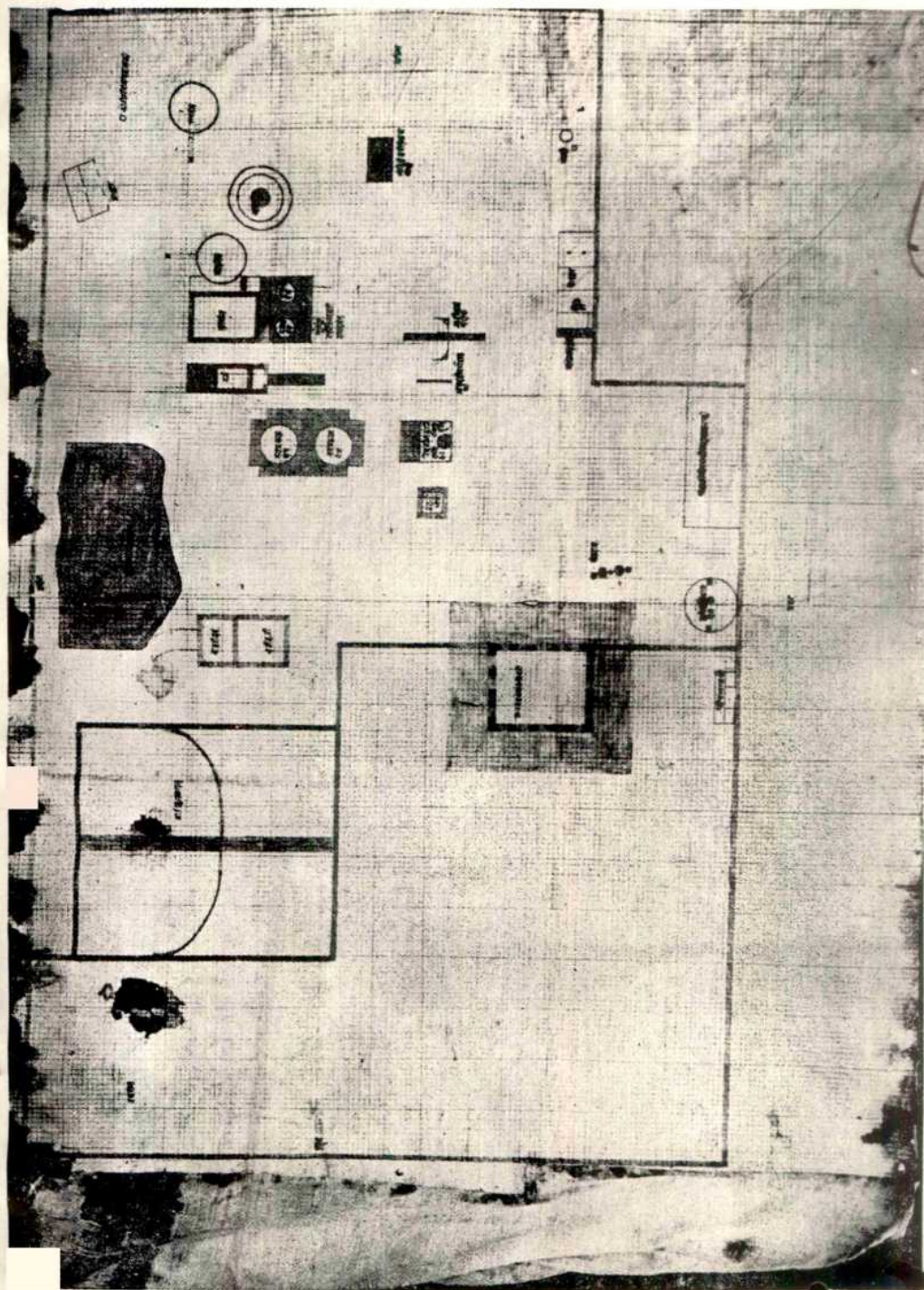
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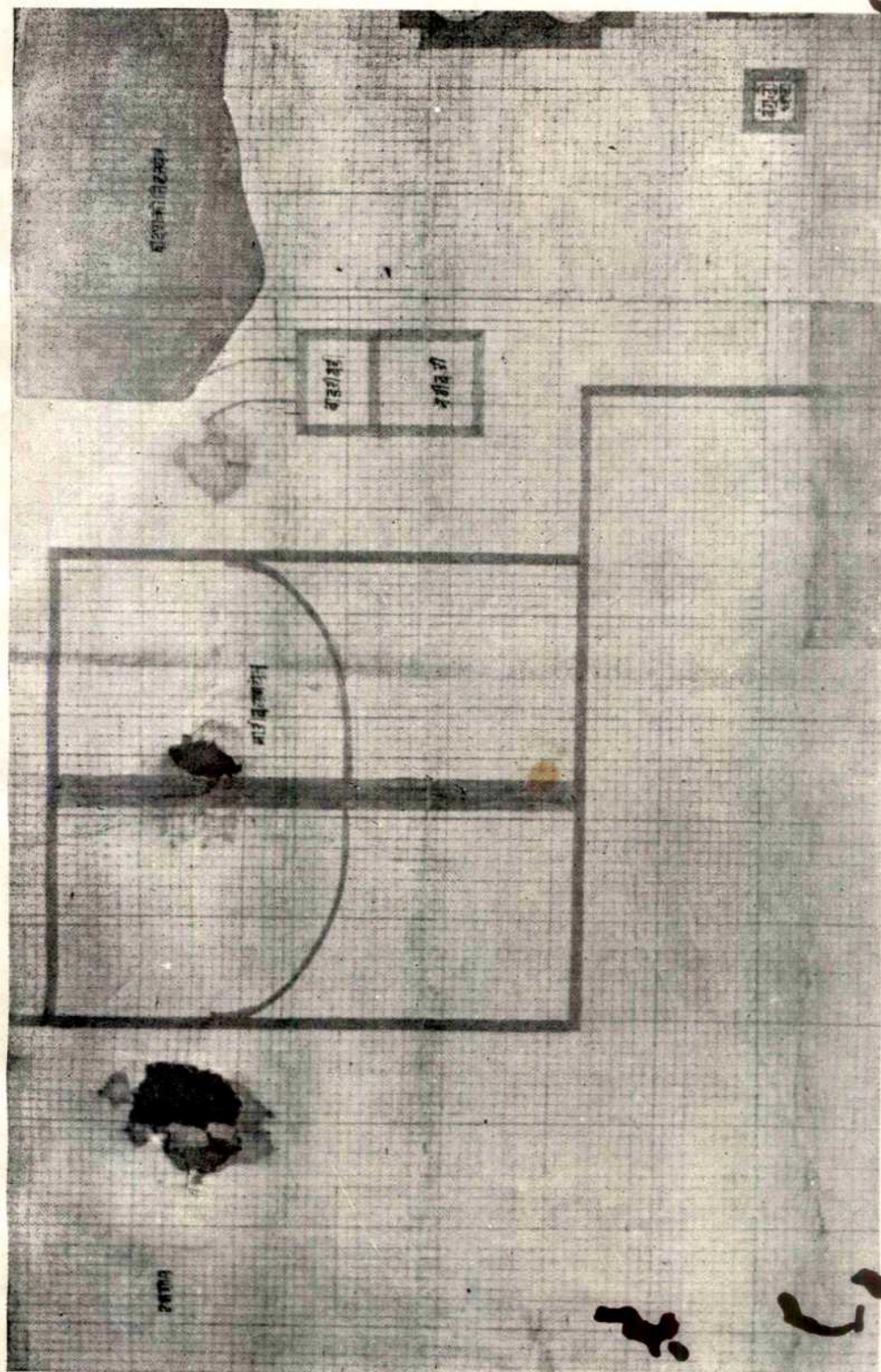
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1 4 Art in Tripura Coinage; 5-6 Two Gupta Gold Coins from Shahdol District.



Mint of Sawai Jaipur : Plan of the Yantrālaya (Jantar-Mantar) showing the location of the Taksal (period 1781-1734).



Mints of Sawai Jaipur : Details of the plan; the mint was constructed to the east of the Samrāṭa-Yantra.